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ABSTRACT

A second series of discussions of American civic issues in the light of European experience is summarized. The overall topics were: the third age of life as a resource in a community, health care, western European communism, labor-management co-determination, language education, and the question of whether youth hostels should be subsidized in Washington State. The contributions in the first section include: "The Humanities and the Elderly" by Frances B. Nostrand; "Attitudes Toward Aging and Dying in Germany" by Inge Anderson; "Psychogeriatric Care in England" by Denise A. Klein; "Resources for the Resourceful Elderly" by Marthanna Veblen; and "Toward a More Creative Integration" by Carl Eisdorfer. The second section includes: "Social Values, Technology and Health Care in the United States" by Jeanne Q. Berciel; "Problems in the European Systems" by Denise A. Klein; "Remarks on Health in France and the United States" by Jean-Paul Dumont; "The British Health System" by Paul Beeson; "Canadian Health Care" by Jack E. Cluck; "What Kind of National Health Program for the United States" by Dolores E. Little; and two articles by Lyle Mercer about health care and health insurance. The articles in the category of "Western European Communism" are written by Katia Walker, Victor Hanzeli, Abraham C. Keller, James Moceri, and Alberto Jacoviello. The articles in the section "Labor Management Co-determination" are written by Sherry McLeod, Philip Kienast, Louis C. Stewart, Borje O. Saxberg, Frederic Robert, Dean E. Frease, Melvin Rader, Cornelius J. Peck, and Jay Higbee. The articles in "Language Education" are written by Suzanne Ricard, John McFarland, and Howard L. Nostrand. The articles in "Should Youth Hostels be Subsidized in Washington?" are written by Joan Stoltenberg, Damian Bakewell, Joshua Lehman, Tim Hill, and Eleanor Lee. Summaries of discussion sessions and reading lists are included. (SW)

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American Civic Issues in the Light of European Experience

THE ELDERLY	The Third Age of Life as a resource in a resourceful community—How can senior citizens be reintegrated into productive activities?
HEALTH CARE	What lessons could we draw from the Canadian and European experiences? What kind of national health program for the United States?
WESTERN EUROPEAN COMMUNISM	What assessment of the French and Italian Communist Parties should inform the political strategies of the United States Government?
LABOR AND MANAGEMENT	Should Government encourage labor-management co-determination such as has been fostered by the West German Bundestag?
LANGUAGE EDUCATION	How can foreign-language needs of individuals and the community be met by a coordinated effort of schools, colleges, the media, and private organizations?
YOUTH HOSTELS	Is it in the public interest that they should be subsidized by the State of Washington?

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Final Report of the

Director and Moderator of the Series,

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A SECOND SERIES OF PUBLIC DISCUSSIONS

Held Sunday Afternoons, 3:00 - 5:00, in the Winter and Spring of 1978

THE ELDERLY	January 15 and 22 Group Health Auditorium, Anhalt Building
HEALTH CARE	February 5 and 12 Group Health Auditorium, Anhalt Building
WESTERN EUROPEAN COMMUNISM	February 26 Lemieux Library Auditorium, Seattle University
LABOR AND MANAGEMENT	March 5 and 12 HUB 309A, University of Washington
LANGUAGE EDUCATION	April 2 and 9 Seattle Concert Theater
YOUTH HOSTELS	April 23 HUB 309A, University of Washington

Western European Communism:
Panelists Victor Hanzeli, Abraham Keller, Katia Walker, James Moceri, Alberto Jacoviello; Moderator Howard Nostrand. Behind the moderator, Dr. Jacoviello's interpreter, Mary Onori. Photograph by Scott Wilson

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INTRODUCTION

HOWARD LEE NOSTRAND

This report summarizes a second year of public discussions under the same series title. In 1976-77 we had discussed day care, bilingual-bicultural education, and urban-regional planning, as part of the Seattle Project of the National Endowment for the Humanities. The final report, now nearly out of print, is available from the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (no. ED 146-811), as the present report will be when requests have exhausted the supply.

The two series were designed by the Community Advisory Board of a multidisciplinary French Civilization Group at the University of Washington. The Board's purpose was to bring to the community what certain specialists know of Western Europe's long experience with some of the issues we face locally.

Since the audiences had been small the first year, the Board decided this time to pick topics of wide interest. This we did, utilizing nationwide opinion polls, for the first three of the six topics, which in fact attracted groups of seventy or eighty persons. The media, too, were better able to diffuse the announcements and the ideas of these sessions to their constituencies. And the sessions contributed to further discussions under other auspices. The contacts discovered and the participants listed for the discussions on The Elderly and on Health Care were utilized by groups planning more specialized programs, such as one on the education of the elderly.[1] A session on Eurocommunism was planned by persons who talked at length with Dr. Alberto Jacoviello, brought to Seattle from Washington, D.C. for the discussion of February 26, just before the French legislative elections of March 12 and 19. After the defeat of the French Communist Party that interest declined, probably not for ever. In a longer perspective, the visit of this Italian Communist correspondent vindicated the proposition that communication is better than the ignorant and biased stereotypes our country and the Italian Communists hold of each other: I mentioned in introducing Dr. Jacoviello an editorial comment of the impartial Le Monde, that for the preceding six months-- the period since he had been allowed to enter the United States-- his newspaper, L'Unità, had been "more moderate" in the representation of this country that it purveyed to its Italian readers.

But while these first three topics attracted more participants, the last three, selected because their importance surpassed the local interest in them, likewise aroused reverberations. And their consequences are perhaps more valuable because there are fewer other contributing sources.

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1. An exchange subscription has been arranged between Modern maturity and the French magazine Notre temps, whose editor, Mme G. Lecorre, believes that such exchange is always fruitful.

The sessions on labor-management cooperation in policy making, while of almost no interest to American management, produced the idea that the "disclosure" trend can be used to enable workers at least to get more accurate information on a company's situation. A session on co-determination is contemplated for an annual meeting of labor arbitrators, who are particularly aware of the detriments inherent in the American adversary relation of labor and management, and a university seminar is projected, involving a self-critical element of organized labor, government officials concerned that the productivity of American workers has declined, and a professor of Management and Organization who concludes that a spreading existentialist attitude on the part of workers-- that they should take responsibility for the quality of their lives, on the job as well as at home-- is beginning to transform the problem faced by management throughout at least the Western world.

The sessions on the community's language needs gave fresh impetus to the Language Bank of volunteer interpreters, and produced support in the educational institutions for the idea of a major newspaper to institute a "language page," as well as for the idea of a new foreign-language radio program.

The discussion of youth hostels, which has involved few adults, gave support to the first Seattle "elderhostel" the following summer, looked ahead to hostels that would deliberately bring together the young and old, and discovered hitherto unexplored converging interests of hostel supporters, a state legislator, and a city councilman.

One concludes therefore from this second series that it is useful to stimulate public debate not only of issues already recognized to be important, but also of issues that prove to be so upon reflection. And this conclusion suggests that those who want the humanities, at their best, to have more effect on modern life, should seek out social issues that have an unsuspected relevance to our humane values. Whether we should then make a small beginning toward public awareness, as was done here, or enlist the marketing techniques which persuade a population that it needs a product or an idea, remains an open question to be decided according to the central objective and the by-effects a group elects to pursue.

The Community Advisory Board wants to express its thanks to the twelve co-sponsoring agencies, the thirty panelists, the many participants in the discussions, and the public-spirited journalists who helped both to interest participants and to diffuse the ideas brought to light. The Board also thanks those who have urged a third series; but we have decided rather to bequeath our experience, for what it is worth, and to turn next to a festival combining cultural events with commercial displays, concentrating upon a certain unrealized potential in the relations between the Seattle area and France.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS AT THE FIRST SESSION

HOWARD LEE NOSTRAND

This series of public discussions, American Civic Issues in the Light of European Experience, has been supported this year by the Washington Commission for the Humanities. This welcome support imposes on all of us two conditions, which we find also to be welcome:

1) the pragmatic requirement that we aim at the question of what ought to be done by some public body, about the problems we raise; and
2) the other requirement, that we approach our problems from the viewpoint of the humanities.

What does this mean? In a very practical sense, the Washington Commission for the Humanities requires that the presenters of a topic include a person who teaches, or somehow practices professionally, in a field such as language or literature, history, or philosophy-- a field other than the sciences, social sciences, or applied sciences.

Let me take the rest of this brief introduction to go beyond that mechanical requirement, and say what I think is the real meaning of approaching a problem from the viewpoint of the humanities.

I have talked seriously with scientists about what distinguishes the humanities. At first I failed: I said the humanities pursue understanding, while the sciences pursue only knowledge. Some of my best friends jumped down my throat.

We must accept that both the sciences and the humanities pursue understanding. The difference is that science must pursue verifiable conclusions. Now not all data permit verifiable conclusions. So the sciences pursue understanding in the areas amenable to verifiable conclusions, while the humanities pursue a comprehensive understanding, needed as the basis for action, individual or collective. We might call this comprehensive understanding "wisdom." It includes scientific conclusions, as far as they are possible. But wisdom requires judgments and choices that cannot be based entirely on the little oases of verifiable, scientific knowledge.

The crucial difference between the sciences and the humanities lies in the field of values. The sciences can deal only with instrumental values. They can show that one instrumental value leads more efficiently than another to your basic values. But you can't prove that one basic value is better than another. This is the province of the humanities.

Now a pluralistic society such as ours makes the humanities a particularly interesting province of our life together. We are free to differ in our basic values, and we do. One reason is the differing ethnic backgrounds we will draw upon in this series.

When we differ on basic values, science is no help. But what we can do, is seek basic common values. How? By just such discussion as this. The survival of a free, purposeful civilization depends on just that.

THE THIRD AGE OF LIFE AS A RESOURCE IN A RESOURCEFUL COMMUNITY

A Summary of the Presentations and Public Discussion

JOAN STOLTENBERG, Rapporteur

Part I -- January 15, 1978

The question, "How can the elderly be reintegrated into productive activities?" has always been with us, but it is now becoming more important than ever before. Today there are over 33 million people in the United States over the age of 60, and this number is increasing by half a million every year. Because more people are living longer, we must examine seriously how the quality of these years may be enhanced. In order to do this, we as a society must re-evaluate our perceptions of and attitudes toward older persons.

In many European countries, the elderly are treated with compassion, acceptance, and respect. How can we in our youth-worshipping culture learn from these European models, and incorporate their values into our own systems? Both the panelists and the public had much to offer in their respective presentations and the ensuing discussions. The following is a summary of their philosophies, ideas, and suggestions.

THE HUMANITIES AND THE ELDERLY

FRANCES B. NOSTRAND

The humanities have as important a role to play in the lives of the elderly as they have in all our lives. Perhaps more so, because at this stage of life there is probably more time to enjoy those areas of the humanities which have had to be slighted or which have never been appreciated enough when one was younger and necessarily concerned with the practical side of living.

There is the physical side of living which is necessary to existence--enough food, adequate housing, clothes, money for day-to-day needs, health care, etc. Then there is the other side of our existence: our inner life, our leisure life; this is where the humanities are as important to our spiritual and mental health and well-being as sunshine and rain to the flowering and beauty of the planet we live on.

The arts in all their forms: literature, philosophy, religion, history, area studies broadening into a study of foreign languages and their cultures-- all these are not just enrichment, but food necessary for the continuing development and enjoyment of later years. The spirits and minds of the elderly need this kind of nourishment more than ever when they are likely to find themselves living alone, perhaps with more time on their hands.

There must be something more than sitting alone before a television screen. The elderly need books to read, tapes and cassettes to listen to in case they are unable to read. Perhaps these services could be extended to more of those who are not able to take advantage of them otherwise. Older people who are able need to get out of their living space

and go to art galleries, concerts, lectures, the theatre, movies, etc. Reduced fares on buses and reduced or half-price entrance fees are a great boon. We could do more to make these outings possible by providing transportation and companions for those who need them. Buses can take groups of senior citizens to these affairs, such as those I saw depositing large numbers of people at the Western Washington State Fair last September in Puyallup on Senior Citizens' Day. For it is not only attendance at these cultural, humanistic events that is needed, but contact with one's peers and fellow-citizens, an opportunity for discussion and exchange of ideas or simply for sociability. This kind of activity stimulates the mind and the spirit beyond the prosaic routine of one's daily existence.

Can people beyond the age of sixty or seventy profit from the humanities to the extent that other age groups of the population can? To answer this question I would like to mention an on-going study begun in the 1950's by Group Health Cooperative of Puget Sound, a study of the mental capacities of older people. The study shows that there is no deterioration in mental capacity and brain power in most older people. Many of them are just as capable as ever of producing for the good of society and for their own. Often it is the attitude of younger members of the society which imposes a stereotype on older members. Examples from history and in the present abound: George Bernard Shaw lived to be 93; Bertrand Russell, 98; Winston Churchill, 91; Picasso, 92; Imogene Cunningham, 92; "Grandma Moses", 101. Georgia O'Keefe, now 91, and Marc Chagall, 90, are still painting. Contributions to the humanistic tradition come from the elderly as much as from any other age group of the adult population.

Now that we see that age is no barrier to learning and to enjoying life through the mind and the spirit, let us look at the possibilities for senior citizens. Here are some things that are being done in our area: the Seattle Art Museum, with the help of the Seattle Arts Commission, offers a monthly free Senior Citizens' Day at the Museum. There are two programs, at 11:00 a.m. and at 1:00 p.m. Free coffee and tea are served to those who bring their lunches. One needs only to prove age 62. There are free lectures and concerts also on the University of Washington campus, and most movie houses offer half-price tickets to senior citizens.

Continuing education courses at the University of Washington are available to all, but the non-credit evening courses and the midday seminars may be particularly attractive to those who do not want to pay for credits or who prefer not to go out at night. All information pertaining to these courses is printed in the Spectrum, a paper published quarterly by Continuing Education. You may request it free by writing Spectrum, DW-20, 400 Lewis Hall, University of Washington, 98195, or telephoning 543-2590. There is a great variety of courses available. Mentioned here also are the telecourses. Of particular interest at this time is the one offered, for credit if desired, on "The Culture of ancient Egypt" (3 cr., $65). Officially it is called Near East X490. It offers 40 half-hour programs with optional seminars.

Other classes and courses are available to adults in various areas and suburbs of the city of Seattle. The community colleges offer evening classes, for credit, for modest fees. Other area schools offer classes in a variety of subjects from foreign languages and English literature to weaving, cooking, and body fitness. Usually only a fee of $2.00 is

required, unless there is a lab fee. Perhaps senior citizens who would like to go back to the classroom could get together and request subjects they would like to study. Perhaps instructors would volunteer their services to help the low-income elderly. On the other hand, some senior citizens are volunteering their expertise to help tutor children in the schools. It goes without saying that many older people have much to offer to help others learn something. They feel a need to give as well as to receive.

By helping our senior citizens to enrich their lives through the humanities, we enrich our own because we can in turn be the beneficiaries of their experience, wisdom, and counsel-- of their humanizing influence. The humanities are not purely a luxury, although they are that too. They are becoming a necessary part of life as life tends to get longer for all of us.

ATTITUDES TOWARD AGING AND DYING IN GERMANY

Ms. Inge Anderson, who has had experience in working with the elderly in both Germany and the Netherlands, spoke to the group of attitudes toward aging and death in Germany. She began by asking, "What does it mean to age? What resources are available to an aged person?" Because so many older people in America have strong European backgrounds, we in this country stand to gain much in this area through cross-cultural studies.

In America, and many other countries as well, death is viewed in a highly negative way. People everywhere have a fear of the unknown, but Americans seem particularly uncomfortable when it comes to dealing with death. This seems in large part due to our infatuation with youth. Youth is seen as beautiful, as an ideal; old age is not. We like to imagine ourselves, unrealistically, as immortal, as eternally young.

In Germany, attitudes toward aging and death are closely connected. Both are seen as a natural part of life, and as experiences along a continuum. More attention is focused on the total lifespan, rather than just on the early years.

Especially among the lower classes in Germany, life is seen as a "recycling process." The older people are more respected and are greatly valued for their wisdom and capacity to share knowledge and folk culture with younger generations. In such a society, people prepare to die gracefully, knowing that they have left a legacy of wisdom and experience behind them. Particularly before the 19th century, any attempt to interfere with the death and dying process was viewed as meddling with destiny.

America could incorporate the values of such cultures by viewing old age as a time to teach and reflect. We are in a unique position to learn much about nature and life because we have such a variety of cultural backgrounds represented in our country. Europeans do not have this advantage, because of their more homogeneous backgrounds.

PSYCHOGERIATRIC CARE IN ENGLAND

DENISE A. KLEIN

A cross-cultural comparison of programs for the elderly in European countries with those offered in the United States produces numerous examples of comprehensive programs abroad but few here. As Jack Weinberg, President of the American Psychiatric Association, points out in his preface to Creative mental health services for the elderly (published in 1977 by the Joint Information Service of the American Psychiatric Association and the Mental Health Association):

> It may be interesting to note that successful services are found in European societies, and one may assume that these could be replicated in our country. However, the American experience is quite different. What is unique about the services described in the European communities is that each community has a long-established non-mobile people, neighborhoods well defined, homogeneous racially and often religiously, of one language, with little ethnic mixture, all of which provides a matrix within which the greater acquaintance with the elderly and the acceptance of them can take place (p. xviii).

It may be instructive, however, to examine one such program in some depth and attempt to abstract those general features of its approach for their value in guiding similar attempts in the United States.

The program I have chosen to examine is the psychogeriatric service in the county of Gloucestershire, England, established by Dr. A.A. Baker in 1973. The program is described in the book cited above, which also examines nine other mental health programs for the elderly offered in the United States and abroad. Dr. Baker's approach consists of the following significant components:

1) negotiation with the area's general practitioners to obtain their cooperation in his emphasis on short-term institutional stays for the elderly to stabilize their conditions, while maintaining the goal of returning as many of them as possible, as quickly as possible, to their own homes or other community settings;
2) development of day hospitals in the area which could provide an intensive care setting for the treatment of mentally disturbed elderly patients, while maintaining them in a quasi-independent status;
3) orientation of hospital-based personnel to work actively with patients' families during their active treatment and upon release from the hospital;
4) a home assessment for every patient in order to obtain the most accurate clinical picture of the patient's functioning;
5) active solicitation of cooperation from community-based agencies which can and do offer various sorts of home care.

None of these components is presently a significant one in the approach to treating physical, mental, or emotional problems of the elderly in the United States. All could be. There are some hopeful signs, particularly in the area of day health services which are now available to a few elderly persons in communities across the U.S. For all of us who work in designing or operating programs for the elderly, the other components are desirable. A number of system-wide changes, including the more adequate reimbursement of home health care, will be necessary before these can take place on a significantly widespread basis.

Discussion and response

The public discussion centered primarily upon the need for change in the American attitude toward the elderly, and the need for home care as an alternative to institutional care. Suggestions were offered as to how such changes could be accomplished. We need to convince younger people and our media that aging need not be viewed as a negative experience, and there is a great need for legislative action on behalf of the elderly. We should keep people interested in stimulating activities while they are still young, so that when possible, people can continue to enjoy such activities in their later years.

Other areas of concern were the issue of limited possibilities for employment of older people, opportunities for volunteerism, the need for the elderly to feel more valuable, and the need for a more coordinated publicity of available opportunities and services. Also mentioned was the need for greater equity of services to persons of all incomes, and the problem of trying to muddle through the bureaucracies to obtain necessary services.

Many felt that the aged are very much discriminated against in the area of employment. Many people must retire at age 65, while they are still highly productive and capable. It is extremely difficult for them to find work (if they choose to do so), as many employers do not favor hiring older persons, even on a part-time basis. It was the consensus of most if not all participants that we must find more ingenious ways to handle these problems.

Many older people in Seattle are dedicated and involved in volunteer work. Some felt that more opportunities of this nature should be available, and that skills and talents should be better utilized. Opportunities should be matched to backgrounds, but care should be taken that older people not become "locked into a role" based on previous experience. This could be accomplished by broadening the areas where one can reintegrate into a meaningful work or volunteer situation. Many older persons feel that they are no longer valuable members of society, because they are not afforded the opportunity to contribute their knowledge and skills.

Several felt that there should be broader publicity of services, programs, and events that are available to the elderly in this area. The question was raised as to what type of campaign might be most effective; it was suggested that a coordinated information bank be established, and that newspapers print such information in larger type, so that it can more easily be noticed and read. The British have a National Exchange System where this information can be disseminated on a local basis by telephone; perhaps something similar could be initiated here.

The older persons who have greater financial resources have more access to supportive services. This makes it more difficult for the lower-income elderly to retain their independence, and may foster unnecessary institutionalization. In many other instances, older people must struggle with a great deal of red tape before they can obtain such necessities as health care, homemakers, and financial assistance.

Innovations that could facilitate a better way of life for the elderly have been initiated successfully in many European countries. The

British provide a far more comprehensive approach to helping old people to remain at home. In France, telephones are provided at no cost so that the older person can call to express a need for services, and to maintain social contact with the outside world, should he become isolated due to physical problems. And it appears to be true throughout most of Europe that the elderly person is treated with greater love and respect. Even though America places more emphasis on youth, individuality, and mobility, it is by no means beyond our capability to re-evaluate our attitudes and values and ensure a higher quality of life for every individual who has reached the third age of life.

Part II -- January 22, 1978

RESOURCES FOR THE RESOURCEFUL ELDERLY

In addressing the issue of reintegration of the elderly into productive activities, Ms. Marthanna Veblen aptly pointed out that not all elderly people need to be reintegrated, because they have never left or ceased to be productive. Many older persons continue to be active and to take advantage of many opportunities in fields of service and education.

She stressed the importance of first meeting the basic needs of food, income, shelter, and transportation. Without these essentials, it would be natural for anyone to place her or his total available energy into seeing that those needs are adequately met. When it is assured that these basic necessities are provided for, the active and alert older person often expresses a desire to continue learning and to broaden experiences. Many indicate a wish to participate in activities that are more challenging to them than the typically proffered arts, crafts, and games of bingo.

Most older people do not lose their intellectual abilities or capacity to learn. In the experience of local schools, the elderly fit in well with classes of younger persons, and there is no evidence of any profound generation gap. Librarians and teachers have found that the young and the old share similar interests in topics of education, current events, and the literary "best-sellers."

The areas of study in which older people express interest are unlimited. Many classes and seminars are available in such fields as music, cooking, history, languages, literature, and the arts. The classes which are reported to be most satisfying are those which are life-enriching, and are conducted in a relaxed, non-pressured atmosphere. Especially helpful are classes which are physically accessible, i.e. have no stairs to climb, and those which provide adequate and proper lighting.

As well as becoming avid students and learners, older people can often be effective in the role of a teacher or tutor. They have often developed a broad "data base" as a result of their life experience and vast knowledge. Because they have coped with so many changes and have seen so many political and economic fluctuations, they can well be utilized as teachers of civics and history classes.

Meaningful oportunities to contribute time and energy in fields of service are available. Examples of these are the Foster Grandparents

Program, the Retired Senior Volunteers Program, Service Core of Retired Executives, and the Friend-to-Friend Volunteer Program. There is still not enough funding available for these creative projects; there is a great need for monies and grants which foster their continuance. Older persons could be more active in exerting the political clout needed to help these programs expand. As they represent a good percentage of the voting population, older people should take more advantage of their potential political pressure.

In summary, Ms. Veblen encouraged older people to make the fullest possible use of both their inner and outer resources. She encouraged the reading of weekly magazines which identify local activities and events, use of tours and opportunities for travel, and involvement in neighborhood organizations, school board meetings, and other community affairs. There is a wide range of possibilities to choose from when it comes to making a decision as to how best to enrich one's life; it is the responsibility of the alert older person to be aware, to reach out, and to participate.

TOWARD A MORE CREATIVE INTEGRATION

The issue of reintegration of the elderly was approached from yet another perspective by Dr. Carl Eisdorfer. The changes in the proportion of older people in the populations of the United States and European countries are the greatest in the history of mankind. Never before has life expectancy been so increased as by recent rapid technological changes. We are all experiencing an "age explosion." The question arises here, as in Europe: "As the number of older persons continues to grow, and life expectancy is prolonged, how do we enhance the quality of these years?"

One step toward a solution is the continued integration of older persons with the mainstream of society. To accomplish this, older people must maintain a pioneering spirit and take initiative in creating new roles for themselves.

Dr. Eisdorfer believes that countries have dodged or submerged this issue. We are now reaching a point where all of us must face the issues squarely and strive to reach some resolution.

He identified three ways of approaching integration of the elderly in America. The first is that we can proceed as we already have been for some time. The obvious must again be restated here: "If older persons were a part of society, why did they leave?" One answer is that we have created artificial boundaries. Mandatory retirement effectively prevents some from continuing to participate in meaningful and income-producing activity. This does not apply to politicians or judges, who may remain in their positions as long as they are elected, or choose to stay. Why are other viable members of the work force cut off at a time when they still have so much to contribute?

The second manner of approaching integration is to promote change by developing a system of second or multiple careers. We must begin

attaching more importance to the extension of education throughout one's lifetime. Why should education be limited to the first 18 years of life, with the usual four years of college immediately following? In the past, studies of human development have ended with adolescence; we are slowly waking to the fact that people do not fall off into an abyss after their teen years. People continue to change throughout their lifespan in personality and character structure.

Dr. Eisdorfer suggested facetiously, but with serious intent, that all diplomas should "self-destruct" if they are not periodically recharged. If education and training programs were accessible to persons of any age, career changes throughout one's life would then be more possible. Such change can be very healthy. It prevents people from becoming too dependent on their laurels, and facilitates the continuous upgrading of skills within a given profession. Also, those who embark on a new career bring fresh insights into that area based on their experience and expertise in other fields. This is also conducive to the promotion of valuable intellectual and emotional exchanges.

If a person does change careers in midlife, there is the additional advantage of collecting two pensions. This process is referred to as "double-dipping." Each employer should maintain his part of the bargain when it comes to retirement and pension agreements. If an individual changes jobs, he or she should be entitled to both payments. This would generate a higher income for many retired Americans.

The third approach speaks to a need for "something special." It is especially important for older people to take initiative in finding and creating new roles for themselves. Whenever possible, they should make their own discoveries and take responsibility for their own self-enhancement. We must understand that self-enhancement at any age is legitimate.

Such opportunities can be found in many settings. One national program, also successful in our region, was initiated at Rainier School for the Retarded. The experiences of caring and sharing between young and old has been beneficial to all. More schools could follow suit and employ older people as advisors and tutors. There is much to be gained through the transmitting of cultural values between generations. Some children have not had the opportunity to be close to a grandparent and to learn from him. This type of program helps to bridge that gap.

Older persons could also be more active politically. There are 29 million people over 60, most of whom can vote, who should exert more of their clout. If trends such as the enormous waste of resources in nursing-home care are to be stopped, older persons must organize politically in order to promote positive changes. In some states there are Elders' programs which serve to monitor state legislatures. Dr. Eisdorfer encouraged similar monitoring of political activity on the county and city levels, and in the office of the Mayor. There should be more outrage expressed at the injustices that go on; he urged all older persons not to be passive and uninvolved.

In conclusion, Dr. Eisdorfer identified three problem areas needing change. The first is a need for a shift in the attitude that older people have toward themselves. They must begin to think more highly of their accomplishments, their value as human beings, and their potential

for continued learning and participation.

Secondly, we must all endeavor to promote a redistribution of economic and educational resources. Inflation is a major problem; we must take some concrete action to ease the financial plight of many older Americans. We must also seriously consider the possibilities of creating multiple retirement incomes. This would go a long way toward providing higher and/or dual pension payments for retired persons.

Thirdly, there is a great need for more comprehensive outpatient and home health care. The high and sometimes unnecessary costs of hospitalization could be avoided if outpatient care focused more on prevention. The same is true for many people in nursing homes. Given adequate home and community supports, they might not need to be there. We must rethink our philosophy of health care, and be willing to cover the costs of a better system.

And finally, we must all give more credit to the strengths shown by older persons. They are indeed one of this country's finest resources, and all of us can learn a great deal through the intergenerational sharing of knowledge and experience.

Discussion and response

Most of those present felt the primary problem faced by older people is the dilemma of trying to live on a fixed income despite inflation. Measures must be taken to control such expenses as rent and utilities. It was suggested that arbitration boards be established, with consumers, landlords, and utility companies represented, in order to arrive at some agreement as to how the rise in basic living expenses can be curtailed.

There must also be more fairness, equity, and integrity shown by employers in the matter of retirement pensions. Many do not keep their original promises, and should be placed under strict obligation to carry through with all previously negotiated pension contracts. Veterans and the mentally ill are often taken advantage of when it comes to pension rights, and this should not be allowed to happen.

Dr. Eisdorfer was asked for an estimate of the number of persons currently in nursing homes. There are approximately 1.2 million persons in such facilities, and this number will double in 6 to 7 years, if present trends continue. In response to this, the question was raised as to how this situation compares to those in other countries.

The Canadians are among the highest users of long-term care, while Great Britain utilizes it only half as much as the United States. This is due mainly to their provision of in-home services. In Sweden, there is also much emphasis on social services and the prevention of chronic health problems. All of these nations, however, including Denmark, the Arab countries, and Israel, are greatly concerned with the rapid increase in their elder populations and the resultant problems. We all need to come to grips with the realization that more must be done.

Members of the Group Health Task Force asked the audience about their attitudes toward nursing homes, and how the gap in services that might help people remain at home could be bridged. Dr. Eisdorfer

encouraged people not to think of living arrangements as an either-or proposition, i.e. either living independently or in a nursing home. We need to think in terms of a spectrum of living alternatives and intermediate environments. This could be accomplished with better architecture, along with a change in our traditional approach to housing.

This raised the question of how such housing could realistically be financed. All services currently offered through banks and loan companies should be considered, including reverse mortgages and tax deferrals. With the latter, there are no property taxes collected after age 65, and the state collects from the estate after the owner's death.

Individual help is needed in making decisions about the choice of available educational opportunities. Someone knowledgeable and aware of existing programs could be very helpful in providing a sounding board to those who are seeking direction in this area. Volunteers who have already been through this system could function well in that role.

Elizabeth Garlichs, from Senior Services Information and Assistance, encouraged people to call Senior Services for assistance in making choices and in gaining access to other services. She identified opportunities for participation in such programs as Foster Grandparents, schools, senior centers, and the Center for Lifetime Learning at the Sacred Heart Church. More information about Senior Services can be obtained by calling 285-3110.

SUGGESTED READING LIST

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SOCIAL VALUES, TECHNOLOGY AND HEALTH CARE IN THE UNITED STATES

JEANNE QUINT BENOLIEL

Introduction

Examples are useful for identifying critical areas of contention or concern in considering an issue as complex as health care in the United States today. During a conference of scholars discussing the problematic nature of humanizing health care services, H. Jack Geiger illustrated the extremes of experience in the United States with these words:[1]

> The most humanized health care in the nation is that offered to a white, independently wealthy U.S. Senator of upper-class family origin, hospitalized for minor surgery at the U.S. Naval Hospital in Bethesda, Maryland, at a time when he is chairman of the Senate Committee controlling appropriations for the armed forces. The most dehumanized care in the nation is that offered to a black, lower social class convicted criminal, perceived as politically 'radical' or 'militant,' with a diagnosis of mental illness, in a so-called hospital for the so-called criminally insane.

These examples provide several kinds of information about the empirical meanings of health, humanization, and health care services. The first is that how an individual is treated as a human being depends on cultural values and their implementation in the social order. In a word, what happens in health care as in other institutions in modern society is directly related to the cultural, social and economic biases built into the fabric of everyday life.

The second piece of information contained in these comparisons is that removal of disease is commonly equated with health, sickness care is used synonymously with health care, and both are often lumped together under the all-encompassing label of medical care. In reality what is in the United States today called a health care system is a system of services having more to do with the diagnosis and treatment of disease than with the promotion and maintenance of the health and well-being of the person. In addition, as Geiger's example suggests, the availability of existing services is highly selective both in quality and quantity, and directly related to how much power and influence an individual carries within society.

Characteristics of the health care system today

Over the past twenty-five years health care services in the United States have developed into a large, complicated and costly multi-purpose business. The organization of these services has been strongly influenced by an Anglo value system emphasizing mastery over nature, control over

1. Geiger, H. Jack. "The causes of dehumanization in health care and prospects for humanization." In Howard & Strauss (eds.) Humanizing health care. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1975, p. 21.

the environment, efficiency of operation, scientific knowledge, and rationality of thought. In addition, these services have been radically altered since the end of the Second World War by an expanding medical technology and specialization of function among the providers of services. The result of these changes for consumers has been fragmentation and depersonalization in their contacts with the system.

Not only have basic services been altered by both social and technological change, the demands on the health care system have been exacerbated by an expanding population and new definitions of health- and illness-related problems. Although the medical care system was originally organized around a treatment model of acute illness, in the twentieth century chronic disease has emerged as the primary problem for which people need health care services. The appearance and expansion of the mental health movement created additional demands for services as emotional disturbances moved from being personal and familial matters to being classified as disorders in need of professional treatments.

As if increased demands for services were not sufficient, the problem of health care delivery has been compounded further by the emergence of consumerism and public demand for increased participation in decision-making in matters of health. The rapid development of mass communication since 1945 has brought into being a people increasingly knowledgeable about many matters formerly known only to the experts. Brought into being by expanding technology, this change has contributed to a questioning attitude about many activities in health care and has probably contributed to public awareness and acceptance of the concept of "informed consent."

In a sense one might characterize the health care system in the United States today as a system undergoing continuing and deepening stress imposed by a convergence of expanding demands and changing societal needs with outmoded mechanisms and inadequate procedures for the delivery of essential services. Those wishing to change the nature of this health care system need to be aware that its present characteristics are closely tied to the powerful influence of deeply entrenched social values and well-established vested interests.

Factors affecting health care delivery

The introduction of a national health insurance plan without consideration for those factors presently affecting the characteristics of health care delivery will probably not do very much to humanize the system and may do very little to increase the accessibility of health-related care. Depersonalization of services as they exist today has its origins in the nonegalitarian character of the present social order and in the influence of such factors as race and sex on social interactions and power relationships. Depersonalization in the health care system has also been fostered by a view of human beings dominated by the perspective of Western rational science and emphasizing objectivity and detachment as the primary mode of interacting with the world. Following this orientation, the organizations offering health care services and the professions that provide them are built upon a model of the provider as expert, a model that breeds status inequality and one-sided power.

The power of the biomedical model

In a very specific sense the system of health care services in the United States has been dominated by what George Engel calls the biomedical model of disease and a scientific reductionist approach to the treatment of illness. Developed by medical scientists for study of disease as a scientific phenomenon, the biomedical model was based on a belief that disease could be completely explained by deviations from the norm of measurable biological variables; it provided no framework for the inclusion of social and behavioral variables. Over time the model came to dominate the practice as well as the science of medicine and fostered the objectification of the doctor-patient relationship.

In many ways health care in the United States has evolved as an institutionalization of a cure ethic organized around an acute care model of disease and dominated by the perspective of the medical profession. The power of the biomedical model of disease has made itself felt in the organization of health care services, the determination of priorities, the allocation of resources, and the education of health care workers of all kinds.

As a result of this influence, both the organization of health care services and the practitioners who provide them are primarily concerned with implementation of the cure goal:

1) the diagnosis and treatment of disease,
2) the objective aspects of the case,
3) the application of rationality and science to the treatment process often involving the need to "do things to" the consumer (patient).

Both services and providers are oriented to recovery centered interventions and technical procedures. They are less effectively organized and trained to implement care-centered services and personalized activities. The goal of care is concerned with:

1) the welfare and well-being of the person,
2) the subjective meanings of the disease/treatment experience,
3) the use of human compassion and concern in provider-to-consumer interactions, usually involving a process of "doing things with" the consumer (patient).

The needs of many people are for health care services other than medical treatments; and as Nancy Milio has shown, even those services now available are unevenly distributed and inaccessible to many. Among the services needed by people today are those concerned with how to live with chronic illness, how to promote and maintain states of health and well-being, and how to live some semblance of human existence as the aging process moves into a declining state or the individual faces what Barbara Yondorf has called a quality-of-life problem. She has identified five quality-of-life problems associated with incurable illness and decline:

1) severe and unrelieved pain,
2) severe and unrelieved physical distress not including pain,
3) severe and unrelieved mental anguish,
4) loss of ability to think or think rationally,
5) complete and permanent physical incapacity to care for self.

Second class value attached to woman's work

A second feature affecting health care in the United States relates to the status accorded to women and the value attached to the work that they perform. The monetary rewards and prestige accorded to professions that developed historically as women's fields reflect the sexist biases of Western society. Work performed by women carries a second-class label and is considered less important than work performed by men. Often the occupations perceived as "women's work" include a high proportion of activities that might easily qualify as housekeeping and caretaking functions-- functions that are normally expected of women in the home. Margaret Adams believes that when the country shifted from an agricultural to an industrial base of operation, the helping occupations-- such as social work, public school teaching, and nursing-- evolved as mechanisms to provide housekeeping and caretaking functions for the society as a whole.

The pervasive influence of stereotyped beliefs that women are inferior to men results in women occupying subordinate positions in the social order, and these sexist biases observed in the general society also permeate the health care system. The secondary value attached to nursing's contribution in comparison to medicine shows in the types of tasks performed by nurses, the middle position they hold in the hierarchy of positions, and the traditional subordinate working relationship to physicians.

In spite of the expansion of knowledge and emergence of new health care roles, there is much in the organization of health care education and services to perpetuate and support the secondary position occupied by nurses. The overlap between doctor/nurse roles and role relationships and man/woman roles and role relationships is reinforced and supported by the hierarchical organization of health care services and a segregation of education for professional practice. Specialization has created large numbers of new occupations in health care, but relatively little educational innovation has appeared to facilitate and encourage communication among these different occupational groups and to train them for collaborative decision-making.

The unequal distribution of prerogatives and responsibilities among the different health care occupations contributes greatly to unilateral decision-making by physicians, low executive power for other providers, and a system of services built around the recovery oriented treatment goals of medical practice. The value attached to the different kinds of activities performed in health care delivery mirrors the importance attached to masculine instrumental endeavors and technological achievements. Thus activities directly concerned with intensive life-saving goals-- such as the performance of surgery-- carry much higher value than do the tasks of direct physical care on a day-by-day basis to the chronically ill, the aged, and those who are grossly disabled. The extent to which caretaking of the latter type carries a devalued status in society is reflected in the fact that these services are often delivered by the least well-prepared members of the health care establishment.

The impact of life-saving technology

A third feature leading to dehumanizing conditions for health care consumers and providers alike has come through the growth of life-saving

technology and its impact on policies, priorities, and procedures within the system. Since 1945 this influence has been so strong and pervasive that hospitals have for the most part become technical life-saving establishments. Urban medical centers in particular have developed into intricate multi-purpose structures accomodating to the three-pronged pressures of research instruction, and specialized patient services.

The high value attached to the life-saving goal of medical practice in combination with the enhanced capabilities of life-prolonging medical technology has created new dilemmas in the balance of care and cure. In a broad sense as Adams has discussed, science and practice as occupations in modern society are likely to overlap and work at cross purposes in three areas of human concern: 1) future gains versus immediate relief; 2) prevention versus supportive help; and 3) common good versus individual good. The past decade has seen a rise in both public and professional concern with many moral dilemmas brought into existence through the results of science and technology. Debates about prolongation of life versus non-prolongation of life are on the increase, and questions about such knotty issues as abortion have moved from the realm of the personal and religious into the larger domain of societal policies and politics.

As far as health care delivery is concerned, the discovery of kidney dialysis machines, respirators, and active cardiopulmonary resuscitation all changed the character of human dying and increased medical control over the time and place for death. The decade between 1960 and 1970 saw the emergence of a variety of types of critical care wards in hospitals, all emphasizing the application of life-saving medical technology. Although these settings contributed to recovery for some patients, they increased the dehumanizing outcomes for many others and added to the stresses and strains of health care work. The advent of intensive care wards increased the tension of decision-making for nurses and created dehumanizing conditions under which to work.

Governmental regulation of health care activity

A feature affecting health care in the future more than now is the probable expansion of organized efforts to establish rules and regulations governing provider-consumer contracts and the services that are offered. Movement in the direction of increased regulation of health care delivery is evidenced by recent governmental activities and actions regarding research involving human subjects, control over the availability of various chemicals such as laetrile, and legislation designed to protect the individual's right to die without the application of life-sustaining procedures.

The availability of federal health care monies to the states is increasingly contingent upon compliance with Federal standards, and this trend toward centralized regulations shows every indication of continuing. Changes in established practices in the health care delivery system cannot be brought about by legislation alone, but legislation will undoubtedly play a singular part in stimulating various segments in the health care industry to accomodate to the needs of the last quarter of the twentieth century.

Prospects for change

An intricate combination of social and historical forces has created in the United States a health care system which does not make a very good fit with the basic health needs of all members of the society. Furthermore, the organization of health care services has evolved in ways that promote depersonalization of experience for many consumers and impede the delivery of holistic health-centered care.

Establishing ways of making access to health care services an equitable arrangement is far from easy in a country historically committed to individualism, free enterprise, and the fee-for-service concept. Presently existing patterns of institutional and ambulatory services for the less fortunate members of society are not in accord with twentieth century values that emphasize the rights of individuals; rather these services often perpetuate nineteenth century concepts of noblesse oblige and patronage. The point is that the health care system in the United States reflects a heritage of values and beliefs that will not easily give way to centralized planning.

Improvement in health care delivery in the United States cannot be accomplished by the introduction of a national insurance plan alone but rather asks that major alterations be made in the presently existing system of services. Although much can be learned by examining systems of delivery that have worked effectively in other Western societies, the fact remains that improvement in health care in this country requires major shifts in health priorities and reallocation of resources to new goals and new directions. Such change will not come easily.

PROBLEMS IN THE EUROPEAN SYSTEMS

Denise Klein pointed out that the ideal health care plan has yet to be developed. Some of us would like to think there is a ready-made system "out there" that we could latch on to. The British, Swedish and Canadian systems all share these problems to some degree: 1) high and increasing costs. The U.S. expenditure for health care is not so terribly high in comparison with that of other countries, if the entire budget is taken into account. 2) shortages or poor distribution of resources; 3) no significant recent increases in good health; 4) less adequate services for low-income persons. This last area is probably the one in which the United States does the worst job.

The most serious problem in the United States is that we have come to believe that we can turn over our personal responsibility for our health to a system.

NATIONAL HEALTH CARE: THE PROBLEM

LYLE MERCER

This is a very brief outline of a consumer's view of what Richard Nixon once correctly labelled our health-care crisis, some major problems in health care, the health care industry (our third largest) and related social ills.

Lest I be considered unduly negative, let me note that by worldwide standards our health care providers are highly trained and skilled, our medical technology and facilities are considered first-rate (if perhaps excessive) and that, according to a 1977 Congressional Budget Study, some 103 million Americans (fewer than half our population) have major medical health insurance coverage and "are reasonably well protected against high expense."

I suspect that virtually all of us who belong to Group Health Co-operative or other pre-paid plans are generally satisfied with our coverage and care. So, what's all the complaining about?

The Congressional Budget Study added these judgments about health insurance:

* Its coverage is terribly uneven. An estimated 18 million persons are totally without protection under either private insurance or public programs: the working poor who do not qualify for Medicaid, yet cannot afford private insurance premiums.
* Between 38 and 40 million Americans have neither hospital nor surgical insurance.
* 37 million persons are inadequately covered for high expenses or long hospital stays.
* Certain services, such as pre-existing conditions, pregnancy, illness or conditions specifically related to women are often excluded from coverage.

Here are some examples of how our profit-oriented system affects the delivery of health services:

* One-fourth of those aged 1 to 24 years have no hospital or surgical insurance coverage.
* 60 percent of our children are not fully immunized against such diseases as measles, diphtheria, mumps or polio.
* Prenatal care is not available to nearly one-third of urban mothers.
* Nearly half of black and Hispanic babies receive no well-child checkup in the first two months of life.

Despite a decade of Medicare, the nation's 23 million senior citizens, who are subject to more frequent and serious illnesses, still must worry about meeting medical expenses. The original hospital deductible of $40 is now $125. Fully 50 percent of doctors refuse to take reasonable and customary fees for Medicare patients.

Medicaid, soundly designed to serve the millions of poor-- mostly

black, Hispanic, and rural residents-- has degenerated into a second-class citizen program. Last year, $1.5 billion was, to put it politely, misused by health care providers and administrators, most notably in the ripoff "Medicaid mills." Not a single government employee involved with the program has been charged with fraud.

Black infant mortality rates are double those of the rest of the population (26.8 deaths per thousand live births). Life expectancy is seven years less for black men and women than for the rest of the population. Migrant farm workers, mostly Hispanic, have a life expectancy twenty years shorter than the average American, and their infant mortality rate is 125 percent higher than the national average. Our 64 million rural Americans-- nearly one-third of the population-- are served by only 12 percent of the nation's physicians and 18 percent of the nurses.

The United States ranks fifteenth among modern industrial nations for infant mortality, seventeenth in male life expectancy and tenth in female life expectancy.

The United States has the highest expenditure of any nation for health care-- $140 billion in 1976. The hallmark of a decent society is its treatment of its less fortunate. Our appalling number of poor persons have twice as much illness; four times as much chronic illness; four times the heart disease; five times the eye defects; five times as much mental retardation.

Additionally, our health empire is diseased with inefficiency, corruption, greed and danger. In 1976 a Congressional study estimated the number of unnecessary operations at nearly 2.5 million, with a human price tag of 12,000 unnecessary deaths and a monetary waste of over $3.5 billion. Excess hospital capacity in 1976 cost consumers a needless $4 billion.

Not only is our health industry complex failing to meet the needs of our people, but the crisis is compounded by the related social problems of poverty, unemployment and underemployment, racism, sexism, degradation of our environment and profit-before-people occupational hazards which kill and cripple at an appalling rate. Unhealthy life-stype practices are an additional problem.

Dr. Helen Caldicott, a pediatrician, speaking at the International Women's Year meeting in Houston, raised the ultimate in preventive medicine: the imperative of eliminating all nuclear weapons on earth. She noted that we have enough nuclear bombs to overkill the Russian people 40 times; the Russians could overkill us 20 times. And yet the insanity continues. The Pentagon is now pushing for a neutron bomb which will kill people but preserve their buildings which would, of course, be highly radioactive for hundreds of years.

In summary, most Americans are currently underserved and overcharged by the health care industry they bankroll. A national debate about a solution to the crisis is underway. Very likely, before the beginning of the next decade, some type of national health program will be adopted. As the last major nation to cope with health care as a right, what are the proposals and prospects?

REMARKS ON HEALTH IN FRANCE AND THE UNITED STATES

JEAN-PAUL DUMONT

Although a socio-cultural anthropologist, I am emphatically not a medical anthropologist. My reflections thus cannot be considered those of an expert. On the contrary, they derive from what I would like to call, for want of a better expression, my "medical experience," as an inpatient and an outpatient in both the French medical system and the American one. I would like to contrast these two aspects of my experience as a consumer.

Very little divergence exists, in my opinion, between the United States and France in respect to what Professor Benoliel has called "the power of the bio-medical model of disease." And yet, the expectations and attitudes of the public vis-a-vis health or the lack thereof differ radically in the two countries. Since the foundation of la Securité Sociale in 1945, Frenchmen have come to take health for granted. Ideologically at least, la Securité Sociale represents culturally the institutionalization of health. Undoubtedly, disease, injuries, whatever represents the lack of health, stand for a certain abnormality for which the State is considered to have a large responsibility. I do not mean here that the State is held responsible for causing the lack of health, but that it is held responsible for restoring what has been lost. What la Securité Sociale can alleviate is not the fear of sickness from a biological viewpoint; sickness is feared because it brings about physical pain and ultimately death. But what it can and does alleviate is the economic fear, that of financial pain due to sickness.

In this sense, it is possible to say that, to a large extent, the fear of sickness has been replaced in the French mentality by a right to health. Thus the day-to-day practice of medicine encounters a change of attitude on the part of the patient. The contractual aspect of the rapport between the patients and the medical profession seems in fact to have changed drastically in the recent past. Although I would hesitate to put a date on when the change occurred, it seems fair to state that even during the forties, a patient implicitely contracted an M.D. to engage, exclusively, in the performance of a medical act, irrespective of its results. I do not mean that the result was not important to the transaction, but only that it is not what was contracted for-- which is in fact reflected in the word "consultation." In other words, medical expertise, not health, was the subject of the contract. Nowadays, on the contrary, what is contracted for is health. There is an assumption of recovery by the patient and the doctor has become less of an expert and more of a health provider who is supposed to re-establish the normal state of health.

In contrast to the minimized fear of health problems among Frenchmen, I find the fear of illness to be maximized among Americans. One need not be an expert to observe that sickness is perceived in the United States as a sanction and as an extremely negative one. Sickness is feared because it can "wipe someone out" not only physically, but economically and socially as well. Given the power of the bio-medical model of disease, it is fair to say that the biological fear of sickness is <u>not</u> the

greatest component of this sanction. On the contrary, since less than half the population is reasonably insured, as Lyle Mercer mentioned, the economic fear of sickness is of paramount importance. But this seems to be rooted, at least partially, in cultural values associated with health and strongly related to the social sanction.

A remark can be made concerning the state of health. It is a cultural value which receives different expressions. A full description of these cultural expressions is beyond the scope of the present discussion, but a few examples can be given. It is not total chance that "health" and "wealth" are quasi-homophones in English. In a society which seemse to equate youth with beauty and valor, and which from this standpoint is so incredibly narcissistic, the manipulation by television of anything "restoring" health is as striking as its morbid fascination with medical technology. Instances could be multiplied, and they would all point in the same direction: health is natural and the lack of health is unnatural; hence the latter is socially sanctioned.

Since the lack of health is unnatural, there is something slightly dirty about sickness. It may be even more accurate to say that it is polluting and altogether morally reprehensible to be sick. In this light, cure is more than a mere biological problem, it is also a purifying process. And it is no wonder that it requires extraordinary means. As a participant remarked, "one does not consult just a specialist, but a top specialist." It is likely that this ideology of sickness is attuned to the dominant ideology of the society; a puritanical work ethic cannot accomodate disease without the greatest difficulties. To be sick is somehow viewed as a social failure, because to be sick is to withdraw oneself from the labor force. It is even anti-social, inasmuch as the work left undone becomes a burden for one's healthy associates.

If this sketchy model is basically correct, it follows that sickness, at least in the limit case, is anxiety-provoking-- which, under the most charitable interpretation, is not the sign of a very healthy society.

To sum up, although France and the United States use a similar if not identical apparatus to cope with health, their ideologies of health and sickness are radically different. Consequently, and beyond any economic and political considerations, the administration of health care in the two countries, being confronted with two different if not opposite value systems, can neither be identical nor pretend to the same results.

THE BRITISH HEALTH SYSTEM

PAUL BEESON

I will briefly sketch the British national health system, with its good and bad features, and what we can learn from it. My perspective is that of an American who worked in the British system for a number of years, with the British health services. I have spent about one third of my professional career in Great Britain.

National health service was introduced rather abruptly one day in 1948 by the Labor government. They took over ownership of hospitals and put all medical personnel on government salary. The goal was to provide each citizen with "a good standard of medical care without personal cost." The goal continues, though each successive government has made small changes, usually for the worse.

The features of the plan include control of the distribution of physicians. The general practitioner is the backbone; the goal is one GP per 2500 people. Each person registers with a GP in his local area. They look to him for personal care and entry into the system. That system requires careful control of the number of GPs versus specialists. The ratio is about 2 1/2 GPs per specialist; here, we have one GP to four specialists. The GP is paid per capita for the number of patients on his list. Some have as many as 4500 on their list-- their income is correspondingly higher. Specialists are hospital based and receive a straight salary; there are tables which specify the number of each kind of specialist needed in each region. The hospital-based specialist has his own clinic, own staff, and own office; when the GP sends his patient to the hospital he gives up the patient to the specialist.

What do people think of the system? In general, the British people are fairly well satisfied. Certain disadvantages get a lot of publicity, but my impression is that people are glad they have it. They are relieved of the worry of serious illness and costs throughout their lives.

With respect to problems, if you're going to provide comprehensive medical care to all people, it will cost. The system is a great burden to the British economy, especially when the economy is suffering, as it has for the last few years. When we are discussing costs on the basis of GNP, the per capita cost of health care in Britain is far less than in the U.S. As we know, a significant number of citizens in the U.S. do not get health care. Our cost is three to four times that of Britain, but the British system does have money problems. (Cited example of a brand new hospital standing empty because they can't afford to open it.)

You have got to have some way of controlling the amount of service rendered. There was a chapter from a book by the Minister of Health titled "Nil cost equals infinite demand" ten years ago. How do they control this problem? One way is to delay elective surgery. Another is that the GP generally knows which patient is likely to overuse the service; he lets the patient know. Also, the British are not nearly as free with technology as we are-- for example, there is much more soul searching before putting a patient on dialysis.

What can we learn? How very few specialists a country can get along with. For example, the whole United Kingdom is served by ninety neurosurgeons; you can find that many in any good-sized American city. Another example: in Oxford, there were three pediatricians; New Haven, Connecticut is served by 60 pediatricians. There are far fewer specialists of all kinds in the United Kingdom. In a controlled system where the government says, "You can't buy X," you can still have a reasonable standard of care. Physicians will always ask for the best possible equipment. You must control the cost of technology.

I am not optimistic about a magic solution to the American system. It will be a slow process, with a lot of debate; some people will have to give up some of their freedoms.

WHAT KIND OF NATIONAL HEALTH PROGRAM FOR THE UNITED STATES?

DOLORES E. LITTLE

To have or not to have a national program of health insurance continues to be a debatable issue. Those in our society who believe they are receiving adequate medical care services are firmly convinced that we do not have a health care crisis and that there is no need for a national Health Program. But in a H.E.W. Health Manpower Report dated January 18, 1978, findings from a national Household Survey conducted by the Center for Health Administration at the University of Chicago reported that 61% of Americans believe that they are in the midst of a health care crisis.

Other findings from this survey revealed that 11% of the population spent at least one day in the hospital in 1976, 52% had a physical examination, and 49% saw a dentist. 64% of the population can get a physician's appointment within two days, but 8% of those surveyed must wait two weeks for an appointment. Blacks wait longer in a physician's office than whites. Low-income Spanish-speaking people were the least likely of any of the population groups studied to see a doctor. It is obvious from the survey that Americans are concerned about the problems of accessibility and availability of adequate health care services.

To ignore the facts that 70 million children in our society are not being immunized against childhood diseases, or that 11% of those from 6 to 11 years of age have visual problems that need correction, or that 25% of those under 14 years of age have never seen a dentist, is to compound the health care crisis for the future decision makers of our society.

This health care crisis affects not only the youth of our society, but also the growing numbers of elderly people who need adequate health care services. In 1975 there were 22.3 million people 65 years or older, which represents 10.5% of the total population. If current trends continue, we can predict that 12% of the total population will be made up of persons of 65 and older. In this age group, we can predict that each person will have three or four chronic health conditions due to the aging process or disease entities.

In 1975 the health care expenditure for the elderly represented 30% of all national health expenditures, yet there is mounting evidence that most health care needs of the elderly are not being met.

These unmet needs were clearly identified when a nurse colleague and I conducted a demonstration project establishing free ambulatory clinics for the elderly in three low-cost housing units in the Seattle area. Within six months' time, 192 persons from a population of 320 residents came to the clinics. History data from these clients revealed that 84% of them were under the supervision of a physician, and yet they were expressing needs beyond what their own personal physicians could provide. We documented 875 health care needs of these people. Emotional and behavioral needs, problems of immobility, and nutrition were the major areas of unmet needs in this elderly population.

As a professional nurse, I am firmly convinced that over half of the persons currently placed in nursing homes would not need to be there if adequate supportive health care services were being provided for them.

It is interesting to note that 60% of all medically underserved people live in rural areas, and that 83% of the critical health manpower shortages are in rural areas.

Problems of accessibility and availability of adequate health care services for all members of our society are critical and cannot be ignored. Indeed we do have a health care crisis.

If we believe that there is a health care crisis, and that there is a need for some kind of national program of health insurance, we must make decisions about some very complex issues. These are the issues involved in shaping any kind of national health policy:

1) What kind of national health program does the public want? Catastrophic or comprehensive coverage?

2) How much of the Gross National Product is the public willing to spend on health care services, in light of needs for adequate food, energy, fuel, pure air and water, and adequate housing and education?

3) What kind of national health policy is needed, as compared to what is wanted? Does the public want a policy which reflects only curative needs, or preventative, restorative, and rehabilitative needs also?

4) Will the development and implementation of a national health insurance policy affect the health and quality of life of the public? What is the influence of genetics and life style on illness and disease control?

5) What role should the government play in the control of a selected national health policy, as compared to the current free enterprise system?

These five questions are currently being addressed by individuals, organizations, industry, universities, professions, occupational groups, institutions, and the government itself. Needless to say, with this kind of extensive involvement there are conflicting points of view.

We can learn from the United Kingdom, the Scandinavian countries, and the Canadians about their experiences and trends with a national health insurance program. However, to think that we as a nation could shape a national health policy similar to one of those countries' is a very naïve approach to solving our health care crisis.

In shaping any kind of national health insurance program for this nation, we will have to delineate the

1) kind of services to be provided
2) quantity and quality of the provided services
3) geographic distribution of the services
4) qualifications of the health care providers
5) roles of the health care providers
6) credentialing policies and procedures for health care facilities and personnel
7) distribution patterns of health manpower
8) financial reimbursement policies and procedures for services rendered
9) evaluation of cost effectiveness of services rendered.

The shaping of a national health policy is a major concern of the largest health professional group in our society, of which I am a member. There are approximately 900,000 registered nurses employed in this country, providing health care services to the public. These services are provided where the public works, plays, goes to school; in offices, agencies, hospitals or institutions, and homes. Nurses outnumber doctors, dentists, pharmacists, social workers, physical therapists, occupational therapists, and other health care providers. As nurses we are concerned about the health care crisis, and even more concerned about shaping a needed health care policy for the public.

The official spokesman for the nursing profession is the American Nurses Association, which was the first health professional group to support actively the enactment of the Medicare legislation. "For many years the American Nurses Association has recognized health care as a basic human right. The Association has looked upon the prepayment insurance system as an effective way to guarantee that people will seek and receive care. The American Nurses Association demands that there be a national system of health care insurance benefits that would guarantee comprehensive health services to all people. Comprehensive services in this context mean the total range of health care services: preventive, health maintenance, diagnostic services, treatment, and protective services. If health care as a right is to be realized in this country, government must insure that health care is universal, covering every person, and that coverage is compulsory for every person so that all share in the costs according to their circumstances." The American Nurses Association through the official action of its House of Delegates resolved that:

1) the American Nurses Association aggressively work for the enactment of legislation to establish a program of national health insurance.

2) the National Health Program guarantee coverage of all people for the full range of comprehensive health services.

3) the scope of benefits be clearly defined so that they can be understood by beneficiaries and providers alike.

4) the national health programs recognize the distinction between health care and medical care; and that the plan provide options in utilization of health care services that are not necessarily dependent upon the physician.

5) nursing care be a benefit of the national health program.

6) the data systems necessary for effective management of the National Health Insurance Program protect the rights and privacy of individuals.

7) the plan include provision for peer review of services that will protect the right and responsibility of each health care discipline to monitor the practice of its own practitioners.

8) there continue to be a system of individual licensure for the practice of nursing.

9) provision be made for consumer participation in periodic evaluation of the National Health Insurance Program.

10) the national health program be financed through payroll taxes, payment of premiums by the self-employed, and purchase of health insurance coverage for the poor and unemployed from general tax revenues.

11) the American Nurses Association strongly urge the designation of nurses as health providers in all pending or proposed legislation on national health insurance.

The Nursing Profession, as well as other health professionals, are concerned about finding solutions to our current health care crisis, and are well aware of the need for assisting and working with a variety of consumer groups in shaping a national health policy. For example, the Interreligious Task Force on Health Care made up of representatives of Jewish, Roman Catholic, and Protestant organizations has called for a health care system which would be measured by seven principles:

1) Health Care as a Right
2) Positive Health Concept
3) Comprehensive Coverage
4) Provisions for Quality Care
5) Trust Fund Financing on Social Insurance Principles
6) Consumer Participation
7) Development and Deployment of Needed Personnel, Facilities, and Research.

Indeed we do have a health care crisis; the solutions will involve confronting complex issues; and I firmly believe that some kind of national health program is a mandate for today as well as tomorrow.

CANADIAN HEALTH CARE

JACK R. CLUCK

The essentials of the Canadian plan can be summarized briefly. I became interested in it because of my interest in the Provincial plan. I thought we might start something like it with an Initiative, in Washington, and perhaps join with a national plan later. So I talked with providers, consumers, labor leaders, etc.

Their history differs from that of the U.S. Even in the early 1930's some municipalities in Canada had provided health care for residents; later two provinces did. In 1958 a national health plan for hospitalization was passed. The national government would provide for half the costs. Each province that elected to adopt the plan would conform with national statutes and standards and then provide its 50%. Standards were established for general hospitals; in- and out-patient services were to be provided to all persons residing in the province. The province was free to provide its own financing; at present a sales tax is used. Ownership of the hospitals was not changed, on the theory that ownership does not matter as long as costs can be controlled.

The province sends out budgets, thus eliminating duplications. Each hospital sets its own budget; if they end with a surplus, they keep it-- an incentive for economy. I found universal acceptance of the hospital plan, among consumers and providers alike. There isn't a responsible person in leadership who would repeal the hospital program.

In 1968 the medical act providing 50-50 national/provincial responsibility and a set of standards was passed. The act includes universal coverage, standards of care, and availability of all physicians. The Canadian hospital association meets with the government and establishes fees. The service is open to everyone, and based on ability to pay. It costs $18.75 per month for a family of two, with provisions for a sharp reduction based on income. The medical profession as a whole has made a self-monitoring agreement; therefore, it has the responsibility to see that excellent care is provided and costs are kept low. There is general agreement that this self-monitoring is effective.

One or two problems remain: 1) the lack of consumer control and input to evaluate the service; and 2) the mistake of having a need for hospitalization as the key for entry into the system-- this must be changed so that people with lesser needs can receive lesser care and be satisfied. However, the Canadian population as a whole seems to be happy.

DESIRABLE FEATURES OF NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE

LYLE MERCER

At our first session we considered the main problems of the present health care delivery system, which boil down to the fact that most Americans are underserved and overcharged.

Now, let us quickly summarize the major components of a national health program, the leading proposals before Congress, and the role of consumers in the change process now under way.

Eight years ago, a distinguished cross section of Americans-- public officials and leaders from labor unions, the health professions, churches and other community organizations-- formed the Committee of 100 for National Health Insurance and developed the following premises for a national health program:

1) Universal coverage for all United States residents
2) Comprehensive health benefits
3) Public financing and administration
4) Provision for adequate personnel, services, and facilities
5) Consumer participation at all levels of policy determination, administration and oversight.

The study resulted in the writing and introducing of the Health Security Act, commonly called the Kennedy-Corman Bill after its chief sponsors. Health Security is the only proposal with broad consumer support, and its 100 co-sponsors make it the leading plan before Congress.

Four years ago, in public sessions in this room and at the University of Washington, another cross section of citizenry studied the issues and proposed solutions and overwhelmingly endorsed the Health Security Program.

Some general comments about the private interest solutions: both the American Medical Association and the Health Insurance Association Bills offer variations of existing methods of health care delivery and insurance. The A.M.A. plan mandates employers to offer and pay for 65% of the cost of private health insurance schemes. The insurance industry plan would be voluntary. Benefits are extended partially beyond present coverage in both, but neither plan makes significant contributions toward improving cost efficiency, or reform of an incompetent delivery system.

Catastrophic health insurance plans, of which the Long-Ribicoff Bill is the most representative, provide cash reimbursement when medical expenses exceed a set dollar limit: all physicians' bills after the first $2,000 and hospital expenses after the 60th day of care. For average working families, $2,000 is a huge sum, when viewed in light of their $10,000 to $15,000 income. With hospital bills running around $200 per day, patients face financial ruin before reaching eligibility. Medical costs today are the leading cause of personal bankruptcy. Catastrophic coverage is essential but it is only one part of the complex health care crisis.

The Dellums Health Service Act is the most radical bill before

Congress, and therefore it does not currently have widespread support, although the American Public Health Association has endorsed it and the Caddell poll showed that 20% of Americans favor this general concept. The program is comprehensive and mandatory for all residents, stresses local control, consumer involvement and steeply progressive financing, with a heavy health service tax on both individual and corporate income. Doctors, nurses, and other health personnel would be the equivalent of governmental employees, and health facilities would be State-owned and -operated.

An earlier American Hospital Association proposal, with some progressive features, has not been reintroduced in the current Congress. President Carter has committed his administration to the enactment of a national health program. His views parallel the main features of Health Security. It is anticipated that the outline of his proposal will be available for study in March.

The debate under way is the classical struggle between a health care industry complex which wants to continue the present delivery system with minor modifications, and consumer groups which believe that achieving health care as a right for all will require major changes in financing, rationalizing the delivery mechanism, public policy, and oversight by health care beneficiaries.

Very probably, by the beginning of the new decade, this key social problem will have been resolved and the United States will no longer be the only major nation without a humane and sensible health plan to serve all its people.

Therefore, each of us has a responsibility to take part in the democratic decision-making process ahead. We must carefully study the issues, become informed about the possible choices and, finally, make our decision and follow up with the political action required to ensure the general welfare of ourselves and our fellow citizens.

THE DISCUSSION

MARTY THORNOCK, Rapporteur

Health care and American values

Mr. Basnight: Isn't health care now like Army medicine? You go on sick call; you are getting ready for battle; you need the most rapid service to get back into society, as if we were all in some sort of struggle. Are we all perhaps in a military medical system, with an emphasis on getting back on duty without delay?

Mr. House: Yes; part of this is caused by the employer-employee relationship. The worker feels guilty. I spent a year in France, and received good care from the government. It has struck me as an anomaly that we can train millions of young Americans as killers and give them excellent care, then send them home and give them poor care.

Prof. Dumont: That has roots in the Anglo-Saxon, Puritan view. The life of the individual does not belong to him, but to the State. It is in the interests of the State to have the body functioning well. Leisure is minimized or institutionalized-- again so that the body can be a producer. I have the impression that in France one has much more leisure and therefore much more time.

Prof. Benoliel: One of the characteristics of our society is that it is future-oriented. Our health-care system is on the factory model: efficiency, cost-effectiveness. The consumer is on the production line.

Dr. Buckley: I've been in the States for more than a year. I've noticed a difference in public attitudes about physicians, care, etc. The American public is far more sickness-oriented; they are not prepared to put up with small problems; they will run to the MD with the smallest pain. They have been taught well. If they seek alleviation and don't get it, they will seek another physician. They won't accept not being treated for something.

American medical professionals do not provide support. You need self-awareness-- things you can do to affect your own well-being. Public attitudes must change: how we treat our family and friends. If we have an occasional ache and pain, we must live with it; instant solutions are not available. People must be told that they are going to have to wait for sickness care; the American public is used to instant care. Things don't happen like that.

Prof. Nostrand: Americans believe in the pursuit of happiness. Happiness is an ideal state-- as opposed to the French, "le bonheur."

High costs and access to care

Mr. Stewart (labor leader): I would like to comment on Ms. Klein's outline of problems. Two years ago in Germany I met a man who had given up U.S. citizenship and gone back to Germany because he couldn't afford to live here. He was a bricklayer and although he had a good income, he couldn't afford life here for two reasons: first, he had children in their teens, about to go to college;

second, he couldn't afford his medical bills. In Germany the children went to college at the expense of the taxpayers, and his medical bills were taken care of.

Regarding the complaint of "high and increasing costs," I don't know about Sweden or Britain, but I do know about the U.S. You mentioned that 8 1/2% of the U.S. GNP goes for health care. In 1977 it was nearly 10% of the GNP, yet only half of the people got care. If Sweden pays 10% of its GNP for health, and 90% of the people get care, they have a better deal than we do. It's not valid to compare gross national cost without comparing the percentage of people who get care.

Ms. Klein: What does "getting care" mean? In Sweden and Britain, entitlement to care is universal. That does not really happen, but at least it cuts down on the anxiety. Lyle pointed out that half our population is not covered. This does not mean that those people do not get care; in fact they do. My point is merely that these problems are also felt in other countries.

The high cost of "specialists"

Mr. Carlson: Our system has the capacity to transform middle-class people into poverty-stricken ones.

Mr. Bende: If the professional staff of hospitals all insist on the best of everything, and are backed up by the public, care will be too expensive.

Dr. Buckley: The MD is obliged to insist on the best equipment, the best drugs, etc. Because if something goes amiss and it is litigated, he will be in trouble if he did not use the best.

Ms. Klein: "The best" sometimes relates to facilities, for example our institutions.

Mr. Knapp: We don't have family physicians-- general doctors for advice. Why? We have plenty who have been trained, but they can make more money by specializing.

Ms. Klein: We have a reverence for specialists. We perpetuate veneration.

Dr. Buckley: Americans never go to see mere specialists, they go to see "top" specialists.

Prof. Nostrand: The French Minister of Health picked as her first priority health education. Are we expecting too much of our health delivery system? Are we training our medical students too much-- to go into top specialties, as top specialists?

Dr. Beeson: The American public is convinced that specialist care is best. Specialist care is very expensive. He must protect his professional reputation and legal status more than the GP. Specialists generate a great proportion of costs.

Prof. Dumont: Regarding specialists: I'm aware that it's a cultural thing. There was a man in this discussion who said we need holistic health, and someone else said we need more warmth; it's vital. We

have respect for anyone who makes money. Specialists make money. The best specialists make the most money. He makes the most money so he must be good. National health insurance will have a problem here. The pursuit of happiness is another problem. The "happy" person lives independently, and has money. He is respected in our society because he needs no one else. How do you overcome that?

"Health" versus "sickness" delivery systems

Ms. Spender: We must differentiate "health" delivery. We have a sickness delivery system; so does Europe.

Prof. Benoliel: I think the point raised about "health" care is important. What is health, anyway? It includes prevention, rehabilitation, disability care, support of the infirm elderly. We must recognize how much health care relates to social problems in a country. I had an opportunity recently to visit Israel and observe their health system. In Israel, they don't have just one system, but many. I think we should have multiple systems, with a service covery ranging from institutions to clinics. But you must realize that their taxes are very high in Israel. American people are not willing to pay.

A Medex: The bases of our health problems are our own attitudes as well as the training physicians receive. The MD is trained in crisis intervention, pharmacology, technology. He is not trained to care for our minds. We are also disease-oriented, not wellness-oriented. I will not support national health insurance unless we are taught that we can care for ourselves.

Dr. Potter: I wonder about the use of the term "health care system." Do we have a health care system any more than a real estate system? The Soviets have universal care, including care available to visitors. It seems to have been put together for all people.

Ms. Klein: Even a loosely organic system is still a system.

Dr. Potter: Some of us have Group Health, or Blue Cross. But no one has gotten the whole system together.

The British health care system

Mr. Mercer: In Britain there are only half as many surgeons per capita as there are here; we also perform twice as much surgery per capita here. We do our planning for training professionals willy-nilly.

Ms. Klein: The British have a centrally organized system. They are not always successful, partly because Britain is not a very wealthy country. They do not have the facilities we do. We won't ever have the British system here, for political and historical reasons.

Dr. Buckley: I'd like to make a comment regarding planning. In Britain, it is trumped long and loud that planning occurs to provide MDs of various sorts. This is not completely successful. They are not capable of providing enough geriatricians. They have far more specialists than they need. There is a backlog of specialists for

posts, which the government will not fill in for economic reasons. There are not as many Board certified surgeons, but perhaps just as many "surgeons" depending on how the word is defined. Certainly not as many Board certified as in the U.S., but many residents do surgery.

Mr. Cluck: Despite the existence of problems, the British pay less and receive more than the Americans. We pay so much for services and insurance, because of the inefficiency.

Mr. Pile: "Despite the problems of the British National Health Service, it is still the ideal of the world." So says a United Kingdom newspaper. The article describes the appointment of the British Health Service to help Saudi Arabia set up a health system. I'd like to describe the British system.

One is free to select a doctor. The doctor can appeal if he has an unreasonable patient. In the past there was no charge for prescriptions; now you must pay a small amount. The druggist prices the prescriptions and once a month he returns to the local health committee and gets paid. This process is subject to periodic spot check.

Regarding waiting for treatment-- it depends on the seriousness of the emergency. If it is serious, in Britain they will get you in; I've waited two months here. British doctors still make house calls. In my own experience, at Christmas in 1947, my first wife was taken ill. She lingered until August when she died of a brain tumor. It didn't cost me anything, except for a few shillings deducted from my paycheck throughout my working life.

I would like to make a comment regarding hospitals prior to national health. They were kept open by private fund raising, by raffles, etc. If you had to go into the hospital, they asked your income; costs were based on income.

Dr. Buckley: Mr. Pile should be an officer of the British Tourist Board. One thing no one mentioned is that what you are attempting to do at a stroke is something European countries took scores of years, even centuries to develop. Before the British Health Service, there was preventative health service which included during the '20s and '30s public health nurses going out to care for families and children with communicable diseases. I've been a consumer and a provider of the British system. It is not absolutely free.

Health education might be a number-one priority. There is a mechanism for consumer input in the British Isles; consumers are in the majority on health boards. But the consumer participation doesn't seem to work. It's like battling against a brick wall. With a big centralized mechanism, consumer participation is difficult. There is a need for more localized authority in Britain.

<u>Socialized medicine vs. capitalism</u>

Mr. Knapp: I am impressed with this fact: Britain does have a medical system. We don't have one, but we do have a capitalistic system. Many British MDs and dentists immigrated to this country because

of the capitalist system. What will we do about all this? What will we do with the difficulties of the capitalist system-- with the effect of greed?

Mr. Mercer: South Africa is the only other remaining capitalistic country without a national health care system. Canada and Britain did see an out-migration of MDs when they first adopted their system. But the out-migration has also dropped. I don't think you will see a huge out-migration of U.S. physicians to South Africa when national health insurance is adopted.

Psychological support and "bedside manner"

Mr. Basnight: What about health care outside the field of medicine, from a friend or relative-- encouragement, hope, a laugh or two. These happen in our culture; they are life-giving. Isn't this a health delivery system? Do these occur differently in France than here?

Prof. Dumont: I agree that psychology is part of health care. A shaman in Venezuela treats pain by sucking the skin where it hurts. He pretends to suck the pain into his mouth and then spit it out; and it works. It does not cure everything, but it is a psychological cure. If the patient believes he is cured, he is cured. This psychological element has been driven away by the scientific approach.

Dr. Buckley: The value of the placebo is well accepted in medical practice. In the U.S. its value has been lost; it seems people don't trust their physicians.

Ms. Sherman: I am European-born and -educated. What I miss here is "bedside manner." You call it psychology. You come to a doctor. You want attention; you want a nice word, a warm word. That's what is lacking here. I was born in Germany; I have lived in England. Last year in England I was ill. I called for a doctor. A nurse called me back and gave me marvelous attention. She soothed my fright. The MD came in the morning. He examined me very well. He asked me, Would a doctor come to see you in a hotel in America?

Prof. Dumont: When the patient is cured by a medicine man I see tremendous trust in that medical man; I see great involvement. A person enters into a trance; it is like a religious experience; the family is involved. Here, the patient is isolated; it is stressful; you go away to a hospital. How do you make sense of it? You are infantilized. A mechanism to allow the patient to believe he will be cured will build up the effectiveness of the curer.

What do we want in a national health plan?

A Medex: What I'd like to do is integrate more active health care. If Carter told you what church to go to, you wouldn't like it. If national health insurance comes through, it will tell us where to go for care. My taxes will go up and I am going to be told where to go. I want to go where I can find the best holistic care.

A participant: Nutrition is very much neglected in the health care system. Nutrition is basic to health care. We give people food stamps, but we need to educate them.

Ms. Lemberger: As a person who controls my own health, I use the MD as an expert. I don't want to be given a pill. I want to be told more about it.

Health education and health care

Prof. Nostrand: The French Minister of Health asked the people what should have number-one priority. The decision was for health education. The question is, How much should go for health education?

Prof. Little: Many people say, Let's not put our money into health programs-- let's be concerned about energy, air pollution, nutrition, inadequate housing, etc. It's not simple when you discuss money for national health; there are other things which have an impact on health.

Mr. Pile: There was a reference to clean air. By the British Clean Air Act, the burning of coal is prohibited. The state pays 90% of the costs of conversion. There are now salmon back in the Thames and the amount of sunshine has increased. This is another aspect of health.

Dr. Beeson: As the only physician on the panel and the oldest doctor here, I want to talk about the business of health education. I share all of your hopes. But let's take one example: tobacco. Everybody in this room knows that tobacco is bad. The only profession that has cut down on smoking are the physicians. To get people to eat less, drink less-- don't dream that a national health service will accomplish that.

Paying for national health insurance

Dr. Buckley: One of the problems of the British system is that the work load is increasing; it is thought that this is so because it is free. People are not aware that they are consuming something. Some people think that one should have to put some token down in order to be aware that he is consuming, to stop gratuitous use. Perhaps there could be later reimbursement.

Prof. Dumont: In France this is indeed done; they pay and they are not reimbursed. It reminds me of Freud, who talks about "the necessity of payment." I've never been sure if the investment Freud was talking about was for the good of the patient or the physician.

Mr. Mercer: I don't think co-payment addresses the problem. In the final analysis it is the consumer who foots the bill. We must develop a system where consumers work with providers in planning. The relationship is the problem; it's been shamans telling little people what to do.

Mr. Lancaster: Do you have any idea what the cost of the Kennedy system is, overall, in the first year, the second year, etc.? I've heard 80 billion dollars, which would be 10% of the national income.

Mr. Mercer: In the Health Security Act, all health expenditures would be combined into an annual budget-- a fixed annual budget. This would be paid one half from treasury income from taxes and one half from Social Security paid by employers. Under Health Security, all dollars paid for health care would be paid into an annual budget-- a public funding system. The cost is estimated in the first year to be about $10 billion, which is less than we are spending now. The high costs at first are tooling-up costs, plus covering those not now covered. By eventually cutting costs, reducing needless beds, controlling the cost of drugs, the present waste can be reduced.

Mr. Stewart: That doesn't mean $80 billion of added cost. People are using that figure as a way of scaring people; it doesn't mean new dollars. If you are employed under any labor-management plan, you are already paying. For example, at General Motors right now, under their labor-management act, they are paying more for medical care for their employees than for steel for their automobiles. That money will be paid by employers/employees directly into the health security budget instead of being paid into trust funds. The costs are growing at such an accelerated rate that we must have a different way of paying.

Mr. Lancaster: It will all come out of taxes.

Mr. Stewart: My point is that the $80 billion is not new money. We spent $148 billion on health care in 1977.

A participant: We will need to think in terms of higher taxes for national health. But we may also need to change our priorities: for example, not spend billions on defense.

Resistance to national health insurance

Mr. Lancaster: What fight will you get from the AMA?

Prof. Little: It's not only the physicians; we have the drug industry as well. We are over-medicated. The public demands medicine; we are socialized to believe that there is a quick cure. I should explain my stand. The American Nurses Association was the only professional organization that took a stand in favor of Medicare. We represent 20,000 nurses, but we speak for all nurses. We support a national health plan. One criterion we consider important is that nurses deliver care; 80% of all care does not need to be delivered by the physician.

Mr. Lancaster: Are physicians ripping us off? Should we be a little paranoid?

Prof. Little: There is good and bad in any profession, including medicine.

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WESTERN EUROPEAN COMMUNISM

KATIA WALKER, Rapporteur

There were two major themes to the discussion.

First, what is Eurocommunism? Professor Victor Hanzeli, of the Romance Language department of the University of Washington, presented a short exposition of the historical context in which it arose, while Professor Abraham Keller of the same Department and Katia Walker, a French teaching assistant, described the present political context of France where Eurocommunism was on the eve of a heated national legislative election, the supreme political test.

Second, the basic theme for the afternoon: what should be the American government assessments of Eurocommunism? A former Foreign Service officer, Mr. Moceri, proposed that four alternative assessments represent the full spectrum of choices. 1) The PCF and PCI (the French and Italian Communist Parties) are undergoing an evolution that is within the interests and experience of Western democracy.

2) Since we cannot know a priori, we must continually test the sincerity of the PCF and PCI about their commitments to democracy.

3) Whether we like it or not, Eurocommunists will have come to power democratically through the will of the people, and we can only limit the risks to our own fundamental interests.

4) The "Kissinger view": PCF and PCI claims to democratic ways are meaningless, therefore the danger is intolerable.

Both in terms of learning about what Eurocommunism is and in reflecting on the possible assessment of it, we were privileged to have Dr. Alberto Jacoviello, correspondent of the Italian Communist newspaper L'Unità, to provide us a friendly and direct contact with the matter under discussion.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

VICTOR HANZELI

Communism is not a concept which is necessarily associated with "foreign" influence or intervention, as it is often perceived in the United States. Historically, the notion of "class struggle" is not exclusively Marxian; Plato, Thomas More and others had dealt with it long before.

Communists and socialists are known to have been associated supportively with major historical struggles for the extension of republicanism, democratic liberties, and other "progressive" causes (revolutions of 1793, 1830, 1848). In more recent history, the Left participated actively in clandestine movements of national liberation during World War II. In the poorer sections of Italy and France there has even developed an active populist collaboration between Catholic parish priests and local communist or socialist officials (the Don Camillo syndrome).

Thus communism has a stronger claim on social respectability and has firmer native roots in European society than it would seem to deserve from an American perspective. This must be kept in mind as we discuss recent advances of the Communist and Socialist parties on the national political scenes of various European countries.

Another factor in the increase in the popularity of the communist parties is their remarkably good record in local government, and their cultivation of the "neighborhood spirit," not unlike the trend which led to the recent election of Charles Royer to the mayoralty of Seattle.

Discussion

Mr. Lancaster: You did not mention the ideology of Communist China. Is Eurocommunism colored by these two different camps of Communism? Is the dialectical materialism of the USSR influencing Eurocommunism more than is the Marxism of China?

Prof. Hanzeli: It is difficult to put in Marxian versus non-Marxian terms. I think the official ideologists of both the Chinese and the Soviets would claim to be the present Marxians; and, of course, the problem has been with us since the late 19th century. Most recently, the argument between Stalin and the Trotskyite wing of the Bolshevik Party was the question of maintaining the Revolution in its purity and making the perpetual revolution. This continued somewhat in Mao's thinking, although I never really went into detail on that. Now, as far as practical politics is concerned, I think that the fact that the break between the Soviet Union and China became public, as well as one of the major geopolitical issues in the world today, did greatly influence the separation of Western communist parties. A communist party attempts to adapt to its own resources within the country, and to the support it may get from outside. Now, as long as the only possible outside support comes from Moscow, the options of a communist party are not very numerous; but the moment that there are multiple centers of communist powers, then there is a great deal of room for a communist party in a country like France or Spain to manoeuver. In that sense, it did make a difference.

THE PRESENT SITUATION

ABRAHAM C. KELLER

Americans often allow the irrational fear of communism which even now persists from the McCarthyist 50's to affect their thinking about communism in Europe. The Communist Parties of France and Italy, which for many years have been polling between twenty and forty percent of the vote, are scarcely considered subversive or dangerous over there. There is little worry in France, for example, that a victory of the Communist Party, or perhaps of a Communist-Socialist coalition, should it some day be realized, will ruin the country. Opposition to it, yes; but the desperate fear that many have on this side of the Atlantic scarcely exists there.

Why is this? There are two clear reasons, which converge. First, the French and Italians, being less wealthy than Americans and more conscious of class lines, do not think it insane or dangerous to speak of class struggle, or to see class struggle at the bottom of social change. Second, the French and Italian Parties, less rigid than the American Communist Party which we know, have moved toward accepted political and social goals and methods.

To be precise about this last and important point, which in a sense makes the Communist Parties appear rather innocuous, the question of revolution, which is so frightening to Americans, hardly gives Frenchmen and Italians any trouble. The Communist Parties of those countries, while remaining devoted to basic change from capitalism to socialism, have come to regard parliamentary means as part of the "revolution." "Revolution" means fundamental change, especially increased public control and ownership of the means of production; it does not necessarily involve violence. Indeed, it may well be said that violence, if any, is more likely to come from the partisans of capitalism, after a parliamentary victory of the left, something like what happened in Spain after the victory of the Popular Front in 1936. In the United States violence has not been divorced from communism in the popular mind; in France and Italy, because of important participation and success of the Communist Parties in the parliamentary process, naturally the public comes to think of them as another political party. It is not to be assumed, then that communism can be brought to those countries only by means of flaming revolution.

Discussion

A participant: You asked what the Soviet Union was afraid of. Have you forgotten that we bombed Japan, and we were about to bomb China?

Prof. Keller: My question was, what are the French afraid of? The Communist Party in France wants a strong national defense. You have got to ask, against whom? Is it against the U.S.? the Germans?

A participant: Yes, against the U.S.; to maintain its independence! Just look at Chile!

Prof. Keller: Do you think you have to have a strong army and nuclear weapons?

Mr. Lancaster: Is not this a Marxist eclecticism that we see in Eurocommunism? They are taking something from not only the people that they want to take over, but they are taking something good...

Prof. Keller: I think that anyone who would disagree with me would be under the illusion that Marxism (and we have been propagandized like this for years) is a narrow-minded philosophy from which you can't diverge. Marxism is a large philosophy just like democracy; you can lead it this way, you can lead it that way, without distortion. You do have to accept certain basic things, like class struggle, and Communists in all countries accept that; but really, you have room for all kinds of variations. The chairman didn't mention it in the introduction, it doesn't qualify me particularly, but I think I am a member of the PCF. I joined it years ago when I was there, but I haven't kept up my dues, so I don't know whether I am still on the rolls.

Mr. Lancaster: Did you have any idea, when you joined, what you were joining?

Prof. Keller: Well, pretty good, I'd say. I was a member of the Party here; though there were differences, I went to the meetings. That was the only party at the time that really had a good policy regarding Hitler. The French government didn't oppose the conquests of Hitler. The Communist Party was very vigorous in 1939. I never resigned, so probably I am still a member.

MAY '68 AND AFTER

KATIA WALKER

When one talks about Eurocommunism and about the possibility that the parties of the left will get into power, it is quite essential to consider the reasons which have brought the people to desire a change in this specific direction. One must understand the political and social situation in France since the events of May 1968.

What I say will necessarily be very schematic, and can be only a superficial expression of what of course is very complex.

In '68, the general social unrest among the people found its first focus in the universities. There had been an increase in the student population beyond all possibility for the university to cope. Because of structural inflexibility and a government unwilling to admit the aspirations of a growing middle class, there was insufficient financing of the universities, which led to an institutional block and a university that was increasingly incapable of providing a meaningful response to student needs. The solutions offered by the government served primarily to aggravate the problem. It set up further barriers against the entry of new middle- and lower-class aspirants, reestablishing the elitism on which the French educational system had been based. The famous explosion of '68 resulted.

Most other sectors of society were restless, too, in 1968. Workers had been striking for better working conditions and social benefits. It took very little time for everyone to realize that the crisis of the university was not an isolated event, but a symptom of a widespread feeling of revolt. The situation was quickly politicized, as the uneasiness came to be interpreted as the result of a conscious political program of a government whose interests were contrary to the popular good. People who might never have done so before realized that there was a political option to take; various groups or sectors of the society had felt individually the need for change, but "May '68" raised the consciousness of a national unity. The movement was supported by the parties of the left and the unions, but they and the people as a whole were surprised by the rapidity with which events were taking place; there was no time to work out a concrete program proposal which could channel the spontaneous revolt. This weakness, added to the anti-Communist scare campaign run by the government, managed to defuse the situation. Many people backed off, and their negative reaction expressed itself in a

Gaulist landslide in the 1968 legislative elections. But, too, there remained a new awareness on the left that the discontent felt among marginals had permeated the entire society.

The events of 1968 ended in only a temporary victory for deGaulle. Discontent remained high. Voting patterns since show a constant increase in the electorate on the left. The impact of this is even greater if we consider that a number of parties formerly in the opposition, and considered center or even center-left, have now joined the government. Despite the majority's attempt to open to the left, the French government has failed to be convincing as it has continued to dilute and pick away at social legislation long ago acquired by the French people, a very visible example being the decreasing rate at which the National Health Insurance is covering medical expenses: 100% before deGaulle in '58; now in some cases only 60%. This worsening of social conditions has been a major rallying force for all the elements of the left.

If we take into consideration the new level of awareness born in 1968 and the continued social unrest as major reasons for an increasing acceptance of the politics of the left, we must also consider as a crucial element the advent of the Common Program of 1972.

The elements missing from the recent history of the left were found after years of negotiating. The commitment to unity and a program for government were important attractions to a large group of people who had not had confidence in any particular party on the left as the parties had gone their separate ways. '68 seems to have been a signal to the parties that there exists in France a political entity which is greater than the sum of its parts, and the increasing success of the Common Program in regional and local elections seems to support that analysis.

Difficulties arose between the partners over strategy for the approaching election. Divergence and rivalry have always existed; this is not entirely negative, but is implicit in the reason for existence of several parties. The hope is that the parties can focus on those main points where they agree. After the phenomenal growth of both the Socialist and the Communist Parties, the composition of each is very much different from what it was before '68.

The new members of the parties have entered mostly under the impetus of the Common Program, with a sense of union. There will be pressure from militants of all parties to think of union above party interests despite present public appearances.

The popular groundswell seems to go beyond the traditional parties, which leaves room to believe on the eve of the elections that there is finally a chance for the left to win.

COMMUNIST PRESENCE IN THE FRENCH AND ITALIAN GOVERNMENTS

A Choice of Assessments for U.S. Policy

JAMES MOCERI

The premise underlying my remarks is the fact, not to be gainsaid, that the formal entry of communist parties into the government of either or both France and Italy will precipitate a crisis of broad political dimensions within the Atlantic Alliance, a crisis reverberating throughout all the major political structures comprising that alliance, as well as NATO itself and the EEC.

No clairvoyance is required to anticipate that reactions among the various political authorities, organized political forces and variously influential opinion publics will be markedly at odds, reflecting significant differences in assessment, expectations and, indeed, the more or less articulated hopes concerning the possible issue of the crisis. These differences will plague and complicate the process of foreign policy formulation within the constituent elements of the alliance and across the alliance as a whole. Moreover, the debates will ultimately influence the translation of policy into political strategy and tactical actions. Needless to say, it would be an exercise in futility to attempt to anticipate what tactical measures might be devised in response to an event which is already regarded in many quarters as virtually inevitable in the near future.

Let there be no doubt about it. The development to which we are addressing ourselves is not a mere question of the normal flux and vagaries of politics, domestic or international. It would be a development without historical precedent. It would constitute a radical rupture in Western political continuity as we have come to know and understand this in the thirty and more years since the end of World War II, radical in the sense that it strikes at the very roots of political behavior, attitudes, and values.

It also cannot be gainsaid that a critical, nay the most critical element in the reactions and responses of the Western alliance would be the posture the United States would adopt and the courses of political action it would seek to implement. At the heart of the policy issue which will face the U.S. government and interested public opinion will be the problem of the assessment to be made of the directions in which the PCF and PCI will probably move and move their nations, once they are installed in the seat of government. Only a discussion which takes present realities and interpretations of the implications of these realities into account can be productive in terms of illuminating the potential policy alternatives that will have to be faced. Otherwise, we shall find ourselves talking about policy in a vacuum or as a set of abstractions.

Some of the questions which will have to be raised in the forums of public opinion and ultimately answered in the councils of government are the following:

- Are the PCF and PCI in the process of evolution that will not

threaten maintenance of democratic institutions in Western Europe?

- Are they so bound to the history and is the historical pattern of their political behavior and values so deeply ingrained in their political mentality and organizational structures that their current protestations of democratic loyalties can, at best, be interpreted as no more than the necessary tactics of power politics?

- Will the responsibilities of governmental authority so temper the political behavior of the PCF and the PCI that the defensive capabilities of the Western alliance will not be seriously weakened, that the indispensable commitments to the basic interests and values of the Atlantic Community will not be challenged by them in times of severe international stress or crisis?

- Will the alleged stirrings of independence from Moscow constitute so potentially serious a threat to the stability of the Soviet order in Eastern Europe and the USSR that Soviet reation or over-reaction will endanger the rough, however uncomfortable, equilibrium between East and West?

- Finally, in formulating a political strategy to deal with the presence of the Communist Parties in the governments of France and Italy, what problems can the U.S. anticipate in dealing with European reactions and opinions?

Let me turn now to the specific problem of the possible assessments which the American government and public opinion will have to face, as the time for fine-spun speculation will have ended, and a critical decision on one or another assessment will have become an inescapable necessity. In the broad spectrum of alternative possibilities there are four nodal points that can be considered as representing the range of possible assessments.

First, it can be argued that the PCF and PCI are indeed finally caught up, by choice or necessity, in an evolutionary process that is compatible with the interests and experience of Western democracy. The requirement for a coherent, consistent and persuasive strategy to achieve their own national roads to socialism within the context of the historical experience and institutional realities of the highly developed societies of France and Italy will inevitably produce a withering of past ties with Moscow, a withering of revolutionary ideological dogmas and a gradual loosening of the organizational principle of democratic centralism. The sobering responsibilities of governmental power will further dampen the ardor of what I might call their transformational urges or, put more simply, the ambition to create a new socialist society that will supplant the present order and eliminate all its injustices. Moreover, the necessity to continue to broaden their appeal to ever-widening strata of the body politic will further reinforce at least a <u>de facto</u> adherence to the democratic processes. A more cynical varient of this rather comforting vision of benign democratic evolution is that, willy-nilly, once they are in power, we shall have to come to terms of pragmatic relations with them, and they with the general framework of Western interests and institutions, from which it would be difficult, if not impossible, to separate the societies of France and

Italy. Finally, the argument will be made that these parties were once in the governments of France and Italy, and the world did not come to an end. So there ought to be enough political realism and shrewdness left in the Western capitals to develop the damage-control mechanism that would contain any really dangerous proclivities of these parties.

Second among the nodal assessments is what I would call the testing of the sincerity of the PCI and PCF avowed commitments to democratic liberties and processes. It can be and is argued that, in the swirl of arguments and propaganda that have raged in Western circles over the past three years on the subject of Eurocommunism, we have no way of determining a priori what truth, conviction or reality there may be in Western European Communist Party protestations of acceptance and commitment to democratic liberties and processes. Lest we stifle a process that could lead to a historically significant enrichment of the Western democratic experience, we should accept Communist accession to power and devise policies and tactics that would continuously test the sincerity of their democratic intentions, encouraging wherever and however possible currents and manifestations in their activities consistent with those intentions.

Third among the archetypal nodes is the assessment that, whether we like it or not, these parties will have come to power through the duly sanctioned democratic processes articulating the will of the people of France or Italy. We can limit the risks they pose to our fundamental interests by for example devising alternative security arrangements within NATO to maintain the validity of the defensive shield. The PCF and PCI have no more interest than we have in inviting Soviet power into their areas of concern. The historic and economic intertwining of Western European and American interests and concerns are so pervasive and powerful in terms of the daily realities of our societies that the PCF and the PCI could not with impunity act in total disregard of these realities, for they would risk unmanageable dislocations in their societies and profound alienations in the body politic that could generate intolerable tensions. In short, we would all have to learn to live uncomfortably with difficult circumstances and reluctant associates. The sureties of the past would be gone. The dangers of internal stresses in the Western community would be substantially increased. But in all probability catastrophe could be avoided. However important France and Italy are to the West and serious the potential loss of their contributions to the common interest, the basic security interests of the West could be safeguarded, albeit at greater cost.

Fourth, then, would be the nodal assessment that might for brevity's sake be identified as the Kissinger view, or at least as most prominently articulated in public by Henry Kissinger. PCF and PCI protestations of commitments to democratic ways are inherently meaningless, no more than tactical devices employed on the road to power. No democratic note they have sounded in the flush of Eurocommunism was not sounded by Communist Party leaders in Eastern Europe before they captured complete control of those states. They have taken no step to weaken or abandon the principle of democratic centralism, the very essence of Communist Party life anywhere, in the control and management of their parties. They have in no significant respect qualified their

categoric objective or creating a new socialist society ot replace the social and political orders that they have opposed for fifty years. Their pretenses of independence from Moscow ring hollow and represent no more than the differences over the tactics to be employed in their national roads to power. Neither party can cite a single instance in which it has taken issue with Moscow on any major international problem or dispute, whether in the days of Stalin, Khrushchev or Brezhnev. There is and ineluctably there can be no genuine community of interest between these Communist Parties and the Western political community. Every joint declaration of their party leaders has concluded with an unqualified denunciation of "American imperialism." To attack the legitimacy and centrality of the American interest in the maintenance of the Atlantic community is the clear foreshadowing of the ultimate intention to take their countries out of that community whenever it is in their power over the governments of France and Italy to do so. The danger, therefore, to the fundamental interests of the community becomes an intolerable and ultimately unacceptable risk. But this is not all, for the entire thrust of Communist Party action, discipline and propaganda in France and Italy is to destroy in those imperfect but still vital democratic societies the democratic, intellectual and moral values and precepts which fit their vision of the new order that must eventually prevail. It is in this arena of PCF and PCI action and influence, the unrelenting pressure to transform institutions and values into instruments of party power, which belies all their protestations of respect for democratic traditions and liberties and which regrettably attracts least attention and is least understood in the West, but particularly in the United States.

This view cannot be confirmed and reinforced by the outcries from the Left in Italy against the recent public statement of the Carter administration of its views on the possible formal entry of the PCI into the Italian government. The outcries express a categoric intellectual and political refusal to recognize the legitimacy of the concerns of the United States as an ally of Italy and as an essential component of the Western alliance, of which Italy is a part.

Discussion

A participant: What is your opinion of the views of Henry Kissinger?

Mr. Moceri: Henry Kissinger's views have become increasingly more elaborate in their presentation while there is no substantive change; it is a more articulated view of the problem, whether one agrees or disagrees with this view. It has one characteristic: a great concentration on the broad, almost global strategic view, and less sensitivity to the internal dynamics and changes taking place in the societies themselves; though in recent statements of this year one has noted more and more of that. Kissinger has made a great deal about the question of shared common values... Whatever the positions taken by a communist party having power of government, there are underlying changes which occur in the society itself. If the value structure of the society is fundamentally changed, then it makes no difference whether a government of, let's say Italy, in which the Communists share an authority and that party takes certain official positions with respect to NATO. This is normal, but there is considerable potential for crisis if the underlying cultural values are different to any great degree.

Prof. Keller: The accession to power of the Left, of Marxists and Communists, would not be an unprecedented phenomenon. It seems to me that by democratic process a Marxist party did come to power in Chile, and nothing terrible happened, or would have happened had it not been for the United States. The fear that the accession of the Left will destroy cultural, moral, or intellectual values is a mistaken idea because Communism itself, Marxism, comes from the same intellectual tradition as democratic thought. They come from the same period and have the same prophets and the same ancestry. Also, whether you have Communism, socialism, or democratic government, there are certain things in the tradition of a people that remain permanent. For example, when the Russian Communists came to power, they abolished anti-Semitism in the constitution. But the Russians are fiercely anti-Semitic, and you can't just write something like this into the constitution and have it change. There is no democratically elected government in France which could take away freedom of the press or freedom of speech. It is deeply implanted in the country's history. There is no reason to worry about the possible destruction of this civilized base of moral and intellectual values, because those are more permanent than the details. What are the Communists going to change? A little detail: you can no longer run business for profit. There is no more free enterprise; all industry has to belong to the government. Does that destroy the intellectual and moral values of the society? I don't think so.

Mr. Moceri: With respect to Chile, I see no parallel with what I said; historically, it would be unprecedented in the Western European political community which, after all, is the strategic center of issues between us and the Soviet Union. Chile, in that respect, is and was marginal. As for the question of commonality of the Western tradition shared by Marxist and Western democratic thought, at the risk of making an analogy, I would say that Cain and Abel came from the same ancestry and the same source, yet behaved differently.

Mr. Carbray: There does not seem to be any discussion of whether or not NATO should continue to exist, at least in our government. It's just a given, and nobody seems to be challenging the idea that it should exist, even though even those arch-conservatives, DeGaulle and Paul VI considered NATO obsolete and virtually defunct. Surely the dissolution of NATO would not be the end of the world, and in any case, it should be possible to protect important secrets.

Mr. Moceri: I don't think that the question of secrecy is at the center of the discussion of NATO. Mechanisms have been worked out before, as in the case of Portugal, that certain materials related to nuclear dispositions and so on were not shared with Portuguese representatives during certain periods. Similar mechanisms, perhaps a bit more sophisticated, might be applied in the case of Communist presence in the governments of France and Italy. And furthermore, the major source of leaks is not Communist government ministers.

The real issue in any case is bases: Italy is in a strategic position in the Mediterranean for the whole question of non-intervention on the flanks of NATO. Therefore, if one has to postulate developing weakness on that particular NATO flank (we could not rely on our Italian ally to assume its particular NATO burdens, and indeed the free and

secure use of those bases in time of emergency would be in danger) the NATO command would obviously have to take other dispositions that would result in major and indeed drastic realignment of their force dispositions and their strategies for coping with an eventual aggression. And if this occurs, I am sure it could be procured only at considerable cost.

Mr. Falchi: For the last 15 minutes we have been discussing a test or evaluation. Perhaps history could be considered a valid test. One should examine the last thirty years of Italian history and the role of the Italian Communist Party in combatting fascism, in setting up the constitution, in fighting for all the civil liberties including contemporary ones such as women's rights. One can observe the PCI in a regional setting where it rules and has ruled for many years, and also in all the major cities (except Palermo) where the mayor is either Communist or Socialist. Surely that ought to be enough empirical evidence for testing of the so-called adherence to Western economic, moral, and democratic values. Secondly, you stated that the Italian Communist Party has never confronted the Soviet Party on any major issue. What about the PCI position on the invasion of Czechoslovakia?

Mr. Moceri: What I said was not meant to be interpreted that the Italian Party had not taken an independent position. A somewhat independent position.

Mr. Falchi: Opposition, in the Czechoslovakian case, does not constitute an "independent position"?

Mr. Moceri: I view that as a matter internal to the Communist world, not an international position. This is really a dispute over the tribute of a fellow Communist Party or government. On the subject of sincerity tests, I was simply elaborating a different point of view that the first node of assessment and the fourth are really looking to a reading of history from opposite sides. Indeed, in certain issues, there are many possible interpretations of history.

Mr. Falchi: The fact that the Communist Party fought against fascism, the fact that they held a backbone role in the developments leading to the present constitution, is that a different reading of history, or are these facts?

Mr. Moceri: That is a different reading of history. There are more and less full readings of history. I am simply suggesting the thrust of one line of interpretation and the thrust of the other. It was not an attempt to argue the positions.

"EUROCOMMUNISM" AND DEMOCRACY

The last speaker was Dr. Alberto Jacoviello. He explained that "Eurocommunism," which Americans generally regard as a rather threatening, monolithic entity, is really only a coincidence of certain Communist Parties on certain points. The first is that democracy is the basis for the formation of a new socialist society; the second is that the present balance of power in Europe should not be disturbed. The first is an old principle; the second is more recent.

Antonio Gramsci, the founder of the PCI, emphasized democracy as the basis of Italian Communism. And in fact, Italian Communists have always been the militant children of democracy. They have even fought for American democracy, in a necessarily limited fashion, doing all they could against McCarthyism. The Communists were also the first to resist fascism and Nazism in an organized, effective way.

A new development is the Party's desire to favor neither of the superpowers. The PCI and PCF want Italy and France to stay in NATO. Their attitude toward the United States is not that of an accuser, but of a critical friend. There can only be advantages in getting to know one another better; that, in fact, is Dr. Jacoviello's main objective here: to interpret one side to the other. (Enthusiasm for this project is rather restrained among U.S. officials; Senator Brooke refused to see or speak to Dr. Jacoviello.)

One word of caution to the United States: we should not be so heavy-handed in trying to influence European politics. The result obtained is very often the direct opposite of the one desired, as was most recently demonstrated by the reaction to Pres. Carter's "ultimatum" just before the Italian elections. The U.S. may think it's the Bible of the world; however, we should remember that the Italian Communists are atheists!

A final remark: The PCI is perfectly willing to be excluded from reading top-level NATO documents, especially since even the English don't bother to read them either.

Discussion

Dr. Newmeyer: A large part of your presentation seemed to be designed to demonstrate to us how respectable the Italian Communist Party is. You are not withdrawing from NATO. You imply very strongly that socialism in Italy should be brought about by parliamentary means, through the elections of the so-called democratic process. Dr. Keller described the Communist Party (I believe he was just talking about the PCF) as a "revolutionary party." Would you consider the PCI a revolutionary party? Do you stand for socialist revolution? Dictatorship of the Proletariat? Is the PCI for expropriating all capitalists and for the destruction of the capitalist state?

Dr. Jacoviello: Yes, but on the condition that it is the desire of the majority of the people. Because otherwise, none of these things can be carried out. They are such profound changes in a society that they cannot be brought about by a minority. Convincing everyone may take a long time, but it's the only way it can be done.

Mr. Connor: The last speaker tried to imply that only the purest of democratic motives shaped the policy of the U.S. government. He also had something interesting to say about damage-control mechanisms that could be brought to bear if Communists should come to power in France or Italy. Some of them have been tried before: military coups, economic sabotage, possible support of the Italian social fascists. Do you think that at some point the U.S. will intervene to protect the rights of United States corporations to exploit?

Dr. Jacoviello: I don't think so, because the United States has a certain wisdom. It is not easy to intervene in Europe; we have a long tradition of democracy and a very strong worker and leftist movement. Intervention would be very risky. We don't think it conceivable and will do everything in our power to avoid it. However, should it happen, we will not imitate St. Sebastian on the cross. We don't feel the call of martyrdom, and we will do what we can to protest.

Prof. Nostrand: If the United States government is able to penalize the great transnational companies for bribing, despite their economic power, could it not go further, given sufficient grass-roots initiative? For example, when a company in Chicago or Detroit decides to close down a factory in some small town in Italy or France, creating economic havoc, the American government could require that company to contribute to the retraining of workers, or in some other way to the softening of adverse effects. The government could play more of a role in reducing the negative effects of American capital and keeping the good effects, which European countries want.

Dr. Jacoviello: I have a friendly position toward the United States government. However, I have no idea that it could limit U.S. business interests in Italy; with such a naive attitude I would not have lived until now. The problem is different. It is in the interest of American capital to invest in Italy, and a stable Italy is better for investment than a disordered Italy. Since capitalists are intelligent, they will not remove profit-making investments from Italy, even if there are Communists in the government.

Mr. Gritti: What kind of changes has the PCI been bringing to the towns, municipalities, and cities in which it has gained a majority? What kinds of changes have occured at the grass-roots level? Has everyday life changed?

Dr. Jacoviello: It is an interesting but complicated question. Since the budget of a city government is dependent to a large extent on the central government, it is nearly impossible to make radical changes. Several basic problems-- taxes, city planning, and construction-- can be dealt with. It is universally recognized that where there has been a Communist majority for some time, cities are better run than ever before. It is different in larger cities

like Rome and Naples, which we have administered for less than a year; the problems are greater. Naples is a city of about two million, of whom about 3 or 400,000 are unemployed. Obviously the city government alone cannot solve that problem, which is one of high-level planning. About all we can do is to see that allocated funds are used and not stolen. That is already saying a lot, for over the past 30 years in Naples alone, millions and millions have disappeared. Out of 25,000 city employees, only seven or eight thousand actually work; the others merely draw their salary, having been hired through Christian Democrat favoritism. Changing that alone is extraordinary in a city like Naples. Italian mayors have always had two or three limousines with chauffeurs, and the ex-mayor of Naples had three chauffeurs. One of them was just to drive his boat! The fact that Naples now has a Communist mayor who has just one small car of his own and drives it himself to work may not seem amazing to Americans; but for Naples, it is a revolution. This is the dimension of the problem. There are cities where the situation is less dramatic and more can be done, and the Communists are not the only ones in Europe who do a decent job of governing; however, it will take a long time and some sacrifices to undo the damage that has been done over the years.

Prof. Nostrand: One thing has to be said by a non-Communist who believes that capitalism is essentially institutionalized greed and that an active citizenry can produce a good society: the municipal Communist governments in France and Italy have an excellent reputation, beginning with honesty.

Mr. Falchi: The European Left claims that Eurocommunist parties are in fact social-democratic. What is your response to that criticism?

Dr. Jacoviello: It is true, especially in Italy, that many young people say the policies of the Communist Party are too moderate. They are dissatisfied because of the great unemployment rate among the young. It is hard for people 20 to 30 years old to think of long-term policies or changes, and their impatience is exacerbated by the necessity of finding work. There is a grain of truth in their charges. Not that there is a danger of the PCI becoming like the traditional social-democratic parties merely because it works for long-term change rather than insisting on immediate transformation. The Eurocommunist parties want to change society, but by democratic means. Perhaps this implies being social democrats, but I don't think so. There is a profound difference between us and the social democrats. Historically, they have wanted to administer a capitalist society; we want to change it, but democratically. This makes us both similar to and different from the traditional social-democratic party. Historical prophecy is risky, but I believe the differences are more important and will carry the day. The essential point is that the militants in the parties of the Left and the Eurocommunist movement are trying to go further than the squalid and rather sad experience of the social-democratic parties.

Conclusion

The interest level was high and the quality and intensity of the contributions speak for themselves. It is indeed a critical moment in the history of Eurocommunism because the Italian Communist Party is entering into the government and the French Communist Party is on the threshold of elections from which they might gain a share in power. The audience came prepared to participate, and the result was a rather full airing of views, sometimes resembling a debate. This, of course, is the kind of discussion that can be concretized only when carried out in government circles. But we can hope that grass-roots discussion all over the country will have its impact on governmental policy decisions.

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LABOR-MANAGEMENT CO-DETERMINATION

SHERRY McLEOD, Rapporteur

The purpose of these two seminars was to discuss labor-management co-determination of policy. In particular, the panelists addressed the question: Should government encourage labor-management co-determination such as has been fostered by the West German Bundestag? Co-determination of policy is defined as participation by employees in policy-making, in industry, commerce, and government.

THE GERMAN EXPERIENCE

During the first session, Prof. Kienast and Mr. Stewart discussed co-determination in the light of their recent experiences in Germany. The co-determination movement began in Germany with the coal and steel industries following World War II. As Robert Spetch remarked, it was actually forced on Germany by the Allies as a result of the political situation. In 1976 a Co-Determination Act extending this concept to all industries with more than 2,000 employees was finally passed, although it is still being contested by some industrialists as being unconstitutional. The Co-determination Acts extend parity representation on the Supervisory Board to the workers and provide for a Works Council in each industry. This is in addition to union representation, which is common throughout Germany.

The Supervisory Board is responsible for top-level management decision-making functions, rather like the board of directors in the United States; while the Works Council makes decisions that arise on the level of day-to-day management. Representatives are elected from the shop floor to serve three-year terms, although their constituents may replace them at any time. The Works Council elects the representatives to the Supervisory Board. Prof. Kienast added, in response to a question from Prof. Peck, that it is done this way for reasons of efficiency and not because of a philosophy of distrust for the workers' capabilities. Works Council members and those elected to the Supervisory Board are given several weeks of instruction during their term, at one of the eleven labor universities in West Germany, to better enable them to perform their duties. They generally lack the necessary knowledge and skills when first elected to office. As Prof. Nostrand remarked, this instruction usually comes too late to be really helpful. Dr. Frease noted that in Yugoslavia the workers made numerous mistakes in running the factories when these were first given into their keeping. Schools had to be set up there to teach them management skills.

In the decisions made by the Supervisory Board, the managerial contingent defers to the worker representatives when the managers have not the necessary information to make the decision themselves. On the other hand, workers frequently defer to management in decision-making, not because they are overawed but because they can see how rational the proposed decision actually is. Prof. Nostrand observed that in Norway, management decisions are frequently influenced by the technical staff, for according to Mr. Alf Bjercke, a Norwegian industrialist, often neither

the labor nor the management representatives feel they know enough to do otherwise.

One major difficulty of worker representation on the management board is the complicated procedure of going from employee to manager and back again. In answer to a question from Mr. George Lancaster, Prof. Kienast described the procedure for selecting the chairman of the Supervisory Board, who bears the responsibility for breaking a tie vote. A two-thirds consensus of the Board is necessary for selecting a chairman. If the Board cannot reach this agreement, the stockholders appoint a chairman. The co-chairman is selected similarly, but if consensus cannot be reached, he is elected by labor representatives.

Union representation continues in Germany as an integral part of the industrial management process, and is highly prized by the workers. Although unions are also integral to the industrial management process in the United States, American workers more often see them as simply one more service that must be paid for, as remote from themselves as their insurance agency, rather than as an organization in which they should become involved. This may be an indication that the American worker is not yet ready for the even more involvement-oriented attitude required by co-determination.

Unions operate in Germany much the same as in the United States. Ms. Elke Boettcher noted that at the collective bargaining tables in Germany, as in the United States, matters such as wages and benefits are disputed. The can lead to strikes, in Germany just as in the United States; but these happen infrequently, partially because of the national surveys put out by the German "Chamber of Commerce Boards" which recommend basic wages and benefits for each type of employment. Mr. Lancaster questioned whether the type of walk-out strike that currently existed in the coal industry of the United States could possibly take place in West Germany. Prof. Kienast responded that it was possible but highly improbable, partly because of the influence of co-determination and partly because of the German character which rejects mass civil disobedience. However, in the past five years militancy has been increasing for reasons similar to those responsible for the coal strikes in the United States: namely, a declining level of trust between younger members of the industry and the people who represent them. Dr. Frease added that co-determination should have a dampening effect on strikes because the workers' opinions and advice are taken into account. There are, of course, still conflicts in Germany, but not as numerous or as intense as in the United States.

Prof. Kienast and Mr. Stewart agreed that co-determination in Germany presently means the involvement and influence of the workers in all facets of decision making in the industry and in the economic life of the country. By law, the costs and profits involved in all proposed decisions must be disclosed to the workers and they must share the responsibility for the decisions. Co-determination reflects an attitude, and points to a way of dealing with problems in the industrial setting.

Georgia Howard gathered that co-determination does not seem to be successful in Germany; that it is necessary to educate Works Council and Supervisory Board representatives in order to try to make co-determination successful. She suggests that a solution to our dilemma might be to

educate the American citizen, through the mass media, to understand co-determination and mandatory disclosure so that they could work successfully. Mr. Stewart replied that co-determination is successful in Germany; note the high wages, low inflation, low unemployment rates, and lack of pollution in the country. He agreed that worker education is a problem, therefore the eleven labor universities.

Germans defend co-determination on the grounds that they are an industrial nation with no raw materials and they can survive only by maintaining industrial peace. Labor and management agree that co-determination is the best means to that end. The proof of their success is that Germany, recovering rapidly from the effects of two wars, has only 1% unemployment and the lowest inflation rate in the industrial world. In addition, the average worker is able to maintain more control over his work life than the average American worker and he has some influence over the economic future of the industry for which he works, as well as some control over the social and economic future of his country. As an instance of this, industrial pollution is kept low in Germany, through the workers' influence on the Supervisory Boards of industries.

L'AFFAIRE LIP-- AN EXERCISE IN SELF-MANAGEMENT

BORJE O. SAXBERG

There is a search on for a work world that reflects new expectations and new aspirations on the part of society throughout the Western industrialized world. It is reflected in the variations on co-determination that have been introduced for instance in Germany and Sweden, where workers are not only members of work councils on the shop floor, but also hold membership on the Boards of Directors with representatives of management and shareholders. The flux in the relationship between the manager and the managed characterizes the discussions of Western Europe's unions which are less concerned with working conditions than with an ideological stance for shaping developments towards a better society. "L'affaire LIP" in Besançon, France became a focal point for these discussions in 1973, when the workers of this watch-manufacturing company refused to conform with the expected protective measures on behalf of capital ownership and proceeded to claim parity for job ownership.

The trade mark of LIP had a ring of quality in the French watch-making industry. The company had been founded by Isaac Lipmann, grandfather of the most recent member of the family to occupy the presidency of the company, in 1867. Having taken charge in 1945, Fred Lip had successfully launched the post-war operations of the factory culminating in new modern physical facilities located in a suburb of Besançon in western France, close to the Swiss border and an area concentrating both French and Swiss watch manufacturing. Fred Lip was in the tradition of the one-man enterprise and known by the nickname "Fred the Terrible." He was a colorful individual whose entrepreneurial genius expanded the company beyond watches to include war materials and precision machinery. At its peak, the company employed some 2,300 workers, which however could not be maintained as the company encountered increasing difficulties in holding its market share, which fell from 8% in 1962 to 5% in 1972.

While LIP was the only French company making a complete watch, competitors in France and Switzerland took full advantage of existing as assemblers only, and were thus able to benefit from economies of scale of their subcontractors. In addition, the American brand TIMEX appeared under the name of "Kelton" on the French market, bypassing the traditional distribution channel, as it was sold through mass merchandising distribution channels including tobacco and stationery stores. Even though LIP at one time was well ahead in research on electronic watch mechanisms, it could not build up to meet the new digital watch technology that appeared overnight with a serious impact on both the Swiss and French watch manufacturers. As LIP had never made any efforts to cultivate the export markets, the company had no cushioning against this new competition.

Already in 1966, Fred Lip had looked for an opportunity to begin to withdraw from active involvement in the company. As a result, the large Swiss watch-manufacturing holding company Ebauches S.A. had bought 33% ownership, later increased to 43% officially (though thought to exceed this unofficially). In this period, union activities had successfully brought more advantageous working conditions to employees at LIP than to any other comparable organization in Besançon. Salaries were some 10% higher than the going community wages, official retirement age was fixed at 60 for men and 62 for women, wages were tied to the cost-of-living index, and so forth.

As the problems began to accumulate for Fred Lip, he attempted to reduce employment and hold wages, but this was refused by the employees, whose views prevailed. However, the handwriting was on the wall, and he resigned in 1971. His successor, Jacques Saintesprit, was nominated for the position by the controlling Swiss shareholder. The employees at LIP did not look with favor on the takeover by Ebauches, whom they saw as representing LIP's foremost competitor. They suspected that Ebauches wished control of LIP to gain possession of the trade mark and to make sure that a new competitor would not appear on markets abroad. There would be little interest to maintain operations at LIP given the Swiss company's major interests in their Swiss operations.

The employees' worst suspicions were confirmed when rumors of LIP's difficulties became increasingly clear, leading to the eventual resignation of Saintesprit. No successor was nominated as president of the company, but caretaker directors were understood to have been authorized to find a solution before June 1973, as the company would otherwise be forced to suspend its operations. It should be pointed out that very little of these matters was officially communicated to the workers on the shop floor. Already General DeGaulle had been instrumental in promising a new industrial order with increased participation by employees in the affairs of a company. Some progress had been made, as there were provisions according to which employees were involved in certain aspects of company affairs.

Since World War II, a company has had to include on its enterprise committee (comité d'entreprise) made up of the employees' elected representatives, representation from management, staff, and workers. Each group acts as an electoral college. The committee is chaired by the President. It is purely advisory to the President, but it also has administrative responsibilities for the social welfare program of the organization. Consultation is obligatory in matters relating to size of the work force

and working conditions. It also has the right to receive information on the state of the company. In addition, the personnel delegates (délégués du personnel) are elected annually by two electoral colleges, one for supervisory, managerial and technical staff, the other for the rest of the work force. Candidates are nominated by the strongest unions, in contrast to membership on the enterprise committee which is elected by secret ballot. The personnel delegates represent the employees on matters dealing with wage rates, job classifications, and labor laws. In 1968, unions were given the additional right to set up union delegates (délégués syndicaux) to foster the interests of union members in the firm.

In spite of these formal mechanisms, the workers at LIP were kept in the dark about the true state of affairs at the company. At LIP, the strongest union was CFDT (Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail), mainly socialist in ideology, with a strong commitment to self-management, and CGT (Confédération Générale du Travail), Communist-dominated and with the strongest nation-wide position. To force management into participation, the workers in the plant instituted a slow-down in production during the spring months of 1973, reducing it eventually to some 14-20% of normal production. Anecdotally, it was reported that for these skilled watchmakers who had spent a lifetime at their occupation, slowing down proved to be a challenge necessitating recourse to method study in the reverse!

When the enterprise committee met on June 12, 1973, it learned that layoffs were to be made. No solution had been found for the continued existence of the company.

At that time, two court administrators were retained, including the company representative from Paris. Documents were discovered in their possession, further confirmed by additional documentation in the company offices, that plans had been under way to lay off a majority of the workers. As a result, the workers made the decision to occupy the plant premises and to refuse access to representatives of management and ownership. In order to establish worker control, an action committee was appointed to represent the workers generally. They were to be involved in all aspects of subsequent deliberations and decisions through the general assembly, which met every day. In addition, every employee was given the opportunity for membership on a work committee-- publicity, visitors, kitchen, shop floor, sales, and so forth. Further, the inventory of completed watches was "liberated" and hidden away. Important parts of machinery were removed to prohibit utilization of production equipment for possible manufacturing operations. It was also decided that manufacturing activities were to continue and direct sales were to be made to the public in order to generate an income flow with which to pay the employees for their earned summer vacation, as well as subsequently to finance the continued occupation of the LIP premises.

Far from being a small industrial incident attracting little attention in the rest of France, the news of the unheard-of ways in which the workers intended to finance their demonstration quickly became a front-page news item, not just in France but throughout Western Europe. LIP representatives were interviewed for the press and on TV. They traveled widely and gave innumerable talks, which were reviewed in the local press. The purchase and possession of a LIP watch became fashionable as popular sympathy was decidedly for the LIP employees. The events at LIP were interpreted as a direct follow-up of the student uprisings

in France in 1968, when labor had participated passively through strike action. This was an activist stance in the face of incompetent management and suspect ownership. The most recent precedent had been the events at Upper Clyde Shipyards in England in 1971, when the unions had assumed charge of the activities at the shipyards while urging government to provide financial assistance and government ownership to rescue workers from unemployment.

It became increasingly evident that though economic policies might not have justified government intervention in LIP, the publicity attached to the work-in had made a political justification.

There was considerable disagreement at Cabinet level. While Jean Charbonnet, Minister of Industry, was making arrangements for a negotiator to carry l'Affaire LIP to successful resolution, the Prime Minister, visibly flustered, declared, "LIP, c'est fini." Nevertheless, the negotiator for the government, Henri Giraud, arrived in Besançon on August 7, 1973. However, confronted with the absolute demand that there be no dismantling of facilities nor lay-offs of employees, he indicated failure of his mission on October 9, 1973. New efforts were made for resolving the conflict at LIP, this time through the strong interest of a number of progressive managers of some of the largest corporate complexes in France who had determined that LIP had become a matter of conscience for French management. This culminated in an agreement leading to their ownership participation, infusion of capital, and financial support from the Government. The new President, Claude Neuschwander, took charge January 29, 1974, and the factory returned to work in March of that year. Those employees who were not immediately employable in the factory were placed in trainee assignments, drawing the same pay through government subsidy as they would have had, if they had returned to their former jobs. Now they had an opportunity to prepare themselves for possible staff assignments to replace those who were not returning.

One of the striking features of l'affaire LIP is the involvement of individuals with a sense of cause and history, who later in many instances provided written accounts of the events. The President of the union local of CFDT, Charles Piaget, was instrumental in creating unity from the diversity of unions in subsequent negotiations. His union colleague, Jean Raguènes, a former Dominican monk, chaired the action committee. Both of these men were singularly effective in creating public support for the LIP cause and in gaining the backing of the unions' central headquarters. Henri Giraud, the Government negotiator who had an opportunity to become President of LIP had he been successful, later wrote a book on the experience from his point of view. Claude Neuschwander also provided an account of the negotiations which led to his acceptance of the Presidency of LIP. Interestingly enough, one of the most vivid accounts is by a certain Monique Piton, who had been secretary to a member of the managerial staff when the worker occupation began. She became an ardent follower and diarist of the workers' movement. She communicates, perhaps better than anyone else, the feeling of exhilaration and importance and involvement that the events at LIP created in members of the work force who were suddenly thrown, literally, into the limelight of the world. As they turned over the keys of LIP to the new management, there were tears in the eyes of many of the workers, because they felt they were losing the kind of involvement that had given meaning to their

lives in a way they had not experienced before. And, after all, in order to provide time for the necessary participation in the general assembly and the innumerable committees conducting business during the months of the work-in, they had managed their work that had formerly taken eight hours in six.

Though a cooperative enterprise was offered the workers as a solution, they rejected the idea. The Communist-dominated union did not believe in the creation of a cooperative, as this would have negated their call for an end to class differences. The Socialist-dominated union did not believe a cooperative was viable, given the nature of the business society; the whole economy had to be socialized first. But the events at LIP emphasize the increasing demand for intelligence and sensitivity on the part of management in the future. Workers will increasingly expect their contribution to be valued as highly as the contributions of owners and managers. Anyone in this tripartite equation who is not competent to carry his share will run the risk of forfeiting the right to claim power and control over the organization.

Epilogue-- Claude Neuschwander was not able to turn events in his favor. Bankruptcy was declared again in April 1976, when workers resumed occupation of the plant. In November 1977, the employees voted to form a production cooperative, which formally came into being in February 1978.

PARTICIPATION IN FRANCE

FREDERIC ROBERT

In labor-management relations, the most difficult word has to be participation. General DeGaulle, in May 1968, started using the word to mean decentralization. Later he used it to mean the distribution of shares to workers employed in nationalized industries. Yet the Prime Minister of the time, Georges Pompidou, kept insisting that he did not know what participation covered or indeed what it meant.

In this discussion, the word participation will be used to describe labor's impact on management and to show how labor and management interact.

The easiest approach is to analyze: 1) the attitudes of management; 2) the main characteristics of the labor unions; 3) the legal framework; and 4) the actual working of the system.

Management

In spite of recent opinion polls taken before the March General Election showing that a majority (60%) of French employers were not afraid of a victory of the Left, almost all observers agree that French entrepreneurs are and have always been conservative, paternalistic and secretive. The factory is the employer's "thing," and most aspects of the daily activities in the factory are not negotiable since it is the employer who has the authority to define what the interests of his employees are. The employer is a real monarch-- rarely enlightened--

usually autocratic and once described as a "Little Louis XIV." We will see later that French law itself determines and to some extent covertly protects the entrepreneur's authority.

Because of the attitude of most employers-- their individualistic behavior, their lack of discipline, their wish to maintain their authority-- the employers' associations, often unwillingly joined, find themselves without the means or powers really to negotiate, to take a firm stand on problems such as real income and working conditions, which are the most common causes of disputes.

As to the recognition of labor unions, the most widespread view-- the one stated in the Charter of the CNPF (Conseil National du Patronat Français), the most representative employers' association-- is that joining a union is an individual decision made by each salaried person, which cannot affect the business since the latter is in essence neutral. So the collective aspect of bargaining is flatly rejected as a matter of principle. However widespread the view, it cannot be said that all entrepreneurs so systematically ignore labor-unions, but it is an indication of the trench war fought by the two parties. Even "house unions," a relatively rare phenomenon, will be distrusted though management inspired; because organizing, whatever the form it takes, is seen as lèse-majesté. The whole jurisprudence gives the employers a tightly knit system by which they can protect their businesses to such an extent that it is almost miraculous that labor unions can exist, organize, and be considered as interlocutors at all.

Unions

The unfavorable environment described above is undoubtedly one of the reasons why the unionization rate in France is low (20%) when compared with that of other European countries (above 50% in the U.K.; almost 90% in most Scandinavian countries). Though it varies according to the industry, unionization is relatively high in the public sector (especially among teachers and postal workers) and other nationalized industries. Yet in the private sector the rate of unionization is extremely low.

Several other reasons may be found to explain such a low rate:

- the individualistic nature of Frenchmen, who dislike joining organizations of any kind;
- the fact that most French businesses are small or medium-sized (50% of all French firms employ fewer than 3 to 4 employees);
- management pressures on employees, either overt or covert;
- the superioristic attitude of a number of status-minded workers who fear that their joining a union might be interpreted as their belonging to the lower classes;
- the very image of the biggest labor unions, which are perceived as the labor arm of left-wing political parties. No one can deny that the CGT (General Confederation of Labor) has very close links with the Communist Party, nor that the CFDT (French Democratic Confederation of Labor) leans strongly toward the Socialist Party.

When it comes to assessing how representative a union is, the best figures are those of the number of union representatives elected to Works Councils, because 72% of all employees vote in these elections.

The CGT is the leader with 52.5%; then comes the CFDT with 16.3%; then the CGT-FO (which split from the CGT in 1947 for political reasons) with 7.2%; and last the CFTC-- Christian Workers-- with 2.5%. In elections where only executives are involved the CGC (General Confederation of Executives) is the most powerful with 36.6%, but the CGT gathers 7.88% and the CFTC 11.06%.

The CGT scores high in the printing (where the CGT has imposed a closed shop, unique in France), mining, glass, metal manufacturing, rubber and tobacco industries. The CFDT is particularly strong in banks and insurance.

Such a bird's-eye view would not be complete without adding that usually the bigger the company the stronger the union.

The Legal Framework

In this part the relatively complex statutory framework will be described, even if later we find that the practice is different from the theory. Most of the bodies and representatives described below were set up in the late 1940's.

The Works Council (Comité d'Entreprise) has two main functions: economic and welfare. Its members must be informed of the achievements and plans of the firm; they may advise the employer on decisions about employment and working conditions. They can cooperate with management with a view to improving the working conditions and work life of the employees. They also manage mutual aid services and funds.

Such a Works Council is compulsory in all industrial and commercial concerns, public and ministerial offices and associations employing more than 50 employees (farms excluded). Its members are elected for two years by all the personnel with more than six months' employment. The number of seats depends on the number of people employed: from one for 50 people employed to eleven for 10,000. The Works Council must meet at least once a month, and its meetings are chaired by the employer or his deputy. Union delegates can sit on the council, but have no voting power. The members are paid 20 hours per month to exercise their functions.

The role of the shop stewards (délégués du personnel) is to present to the employer all the claims-- either individual or collective-- of the personnel and to inform the Works Inspectorate of all the observations of rules and of their applications. Their appointment is compulsory in all industrial, commercial or agricultural firms employing more than ten employees.

They are elected for one year on a two-tier basis, one for employees and workers, another for technicians, supervisors, engineers, and executives. For the first round of this election, only representative unions may have candidates.

The number of shop stewards depends on the number of employees: from one for 11 employees to nine for 1000 employees (adding one more for every 500 employees). The employer must accept an interview with them at least once a month. The shop stewards are paid 15 hours to exercise their functions.

Each union can appoint a union representative to attend the meetings of the Works Council and to assist the shop steward(s) in meetings with the employer.

Union delegates should be found in all firms employing more than 50 workers. They represent the union in all talks with the employer and negotiate collective agreements. They can collect union dues and distribute union literature inside the company.

All the individuals above are protected from dismissal. The Works Council must agree to their dismissal, and in the event of disagreement with management, dismissals must be authorized by Works Inspectors. Former shop stewards and members of the Works Council are protected for six months, and candidates in the elections for three months before and after the elections.

A collective agreement governs working conditions and can be signed by an individual union or a confederation and an employer or an employers' association. It may include clauses that are more favorable than the law. It can be "ordinary," that is, applicable by the employers who signed it, or it can be "extended" by the Minister of Labor and then will have to be applied by all the employers of the sector. Such an agreement is legally binding.

The System at Work

Since there is a system, and a complex one at that, its relative rigidity creates many loopholes or at least opportunities not to apply it. Let us examine the practice.

A Works Council is compulsory . . . but out of 35,700 firms some 9,500 do not have one, and out of those existing Works Councils one in 10 does not function properly. Everybody is aware of that anomaly, including the Minister of Labor himself, but what can he do with an understaffed department?

The employer "forgets" to summon the Works Council . . . or refuses to disclose his plans . . . but what can an individual do?

The Works Council is allowed to have a bulletin board, but three limits to posting have to be respected. First the written sheets should be strictly professional. Second, there should be neither polemic nor slanderous terms in the messages. And third, the texts should be submitted to the management before posting and the management has the right to forbid posting if the message does not meet the first two requirements. The first limit is all too often interpreted very narrowly, which makes it impossible to post articles published outside by unions or confederations, since the management only tolerates texts written by its own employees. The second limit is easy to use against posting any message likely to make people think. It also shows that workers will have to use the same vocabulary as that used by the management. So though posting is allowed, it seems obvious that the limitations imposed upon it render it ineffective. As to the handing out of tracts, it can be prevented by company regulations or done only outside the firm at the gates.

All kinds of maneuvers are used to prevent a normal election: for example, the election will be announced by a memo only two or three days

before the election; if there are no candidates for the first round, the second round will take place immediately, thus favoring the election of "independent" last-minute candidates. Or the election will take place half an hour after the end of the workday, etc. Such examples are too numerous to be listed here. But all of them show that the employer's powers are almost unlimited in spite of regulations that seem favorable to harmonious relationships.

Such powers also apply to discipline inside the firm. The Supreme Court stated that "the employer has a disciplinary power inherent to his position" (Cour de Cassation 16 juin 1945). This clearly shows that dismissals will be legitimate even if they are unfair, all the more so as the employer is the only person qualified to assess the performance of his employees and does not have to substantiate the motives for dismissal.

No one has the right to question the employer's competence in the field of working conditions, length of the work day, paid holidays and wages.

Working conditions are determined by the firm's regulations and by memoranda.

Wages are rarely among the clauses found in collective agreements and if they are, they only reflect the basic minimum rate, which is meaningless when compared with the real income. Thus wages become an employer's means of pressuring employees, especially when one knows that premiums and bonuses may be as high as 30 to 60% of the basic rate and also that they can be granted or not at the employer's discretion. No wage policy can be found, as wages are shrouded in secrecy; increases or decreases in wages are based on unknown criteria. Instead of rewarding work, wages reward the one with the nerve or the one with the knack. Not so surprisingly, the main victims of this policy-- or rather lack of it-- seem to be union representatives and/or militants. Sometimes the same person will be talked into accepting an unexpected raise with the hope that he or she will forget about solidarity.

Dismissals are another opportunity for the employer to demonstrate his power. All members of Works Councils and shop stewards or union delegates are legally protected, but nothing can prevent the employer from dismissing them on the very day following the six months' legal protection. Statistics show that some 200 people are dismissed annually for union activities.

Is participation possible under these circumstances? The answer to this question is difficult. Participation works in a number of firms, especially in the public sector and in nationalized industries, but there are still too many exceptions, too many loopholes, too many rigid attitudes. As long as the rigid paternalistic mentality of the French employer remains, the workers have little hope of real participation. As long as the union is not considered as a partner it will tend to behave more aggressively to the detriment of both business and labor.

The legal framework favorable to participation does exist, but so do inertia and company regulations which are counterproductive.

New qualitative demands from the workers may offer the best chance to improve participation, since they will have to be dealt with by new, more open-minded managers. However, considering that many employers still refuse to recognize unions, how can anyone expect labor to have much impact on management?

YUGOSLAV WORKERS' COUNCILS

Historic Roots and Present Achievements

DEAN E. FREASE

Introduction

More than one hundred years have passed since the proclamation of the Paris Commune on March 28, 1871. Although it had an extremely short life of only some seventy days, the impact it has had on the lives of much of the world's population and the lessons learned from its death have been far-sweeping in their effects.

The Paris Commune, like so many other revolutionary events, was part of a larger, armed conflict, namely the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71. With things going badly for the Versailles government, the Parisian workers rebelled and successfully captured the reins of power in Paris.

A number of laws and decrees were promulgated in the following weeks, but perhaps the one most relevant to the present concern was the decree that all factories and workshops abandoned or shut down by their owners were to be turned over to associations of workers to resume production. And, apparently in an effort to make clear its democratic, proletarian thrust, the Commune decreed that the salaries of the highest paid governmental and administrative officials should not exceed that of the average wage of the average worker.

Post-World-War-II Development

From the end of World War II until 1950, in a very predictable post-war Eastern European development, there was a strong tendency toward centralization using the Soviet model. This tendency became somewhat more restrained following Yugoslavia's expulsion from the Cominform in 1948 but nevertheless continued for approximately two more years.

According to Djilas' account in The Unperfect society, in 1949 he began re-reading Capital and discovered ideas long since forgotten, the most significant being the concept concerning "a future society in which the immediate producers, through the decisions regarding production and distribution, would, in effect, run their own lives and their own future."[1] These ideas were first presented to Kardelj and then later, together with Kidric and Kardelj, to Tito. According to Djilas, in 1950 it all came together:

> One day-- it must have been in the spring of 1950-- it occured to me that we Yugoslav Communists were now in a position to start creating Marx's free association of producers. The factories would be left in their hands, with the sole proviso that they should pay a tax.... A little later, a meeting was held in Kardelj's cabinet office with the trade union leaders, and they proposed the abolition of the workers' councils, which up to that time had functioned only as consultative

1. Djilas, Milovan. The Unperfect society: Beyond the new class. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1969, p. 221.

> bodies for the management. Kardelj suggested that my proposals for management should be associated with the workers' councils.... Shortly there began the debates on the issues of principle and on the statutory aspects, preparation that went on for some four or five months.... A few months later, Tito explained the Workers' Self-Management Bill to the National Assembly.[2]

Thus, as explained by Djilas, came about the birth of the Workers' Councils. Among the many purposes of this legislation was to vastly decentralize the critical sociopolitical institutions.

This decentralization, in turn, went to the heart of much Marxist theory, which provided the Yugoslavs with a clear focus for national development.

Withering Away of the State

One of the "stickiest" questions in all of Marxist theory involves the point at which the withering away of the State apparatus shall begin. It was an original contribution to Marxist thought when Tito declared in 1950:

> From now on, the State ownership of the means of production-- factories, mines, railways-- is passing on to a higher form of socialist ownership. Therein lies our road to socialism, and that is the only right road as regards the withering away of State functions in the economy.[3]

The Yugoslavs argue that for the process of the withering away of the State to truly represent the collective will of the people, the people must participate on a mass basis, otherwise those left to dispose of the State corpse will form an elite removed from the people.

The point at which to begin the withering away is, in actuality, a very critical decision; critical in the sense that the shape and structure of the State hinges upon that decision. This is so because, as a revolutionary society becomes older it adds layers of bureaucracy, thereby increasingly insulating its people from a direct participatory role. Hence, the longer the decision to eliminate the State apparatus can be delayed, the greater the likelihood that the opposite process will occur, namely the growth and development of the State mechanism. The Yugoslavian answer to this problem has been that the State should begin "phasing itself out" as soon as it is established. They have chosen the vehicle of the Workers' Councils as the technique to bring this about.

Closing the Gap between Producer and Instrument of Production

There would be no debate in the Socialist camp over whether or not the worker, under capitalism, has control over the means of production. However, within the Socialist brotherhood the Yugoslavs argue quite

2. ibid., p. 219-222.
3. Borba, June 27, 1950.

forcefully that State capitalism, such as is found in the U.S.S.R., has simply substituted one set of exploiters for another.

Although the working class has defeated the bourgeoisie, under State capitalism the means of production are still separated from the worker. This is the case because the State organizes labor, determines what shall be produced, by whom, and when. It determines how the profits shall be utilized-- whether they shall be plowed back into the factory for modernization and expansion or if they should be used to increase wages. In general, the State controls and directs all work relations.

As a result of the void between the control of production techniques and the working man, estrangement from the work process takes place and a generalized stance of disinterest develops. The State, in fact, becomes indistinguishable from the pack of rascals the revolution has thrown out.

Worker Education

It is not too difficult to imagine a situation whereby the workers might appropriate an inordinate amount of the profit for personal consumption. Because the workers have the theoretical right to distribute accumulated wealth in virtually any fashion they consider appropriate, this situation could become reality.

The notion of free will as it is generally conceived would argue that the owners of a factory are "free" to divide the profit in any way they see fit-- so much for salary increases, so much for dividends, so much for modernization and expansion, etc. However, the reality of the situation is that modernized techniques and expanded production are the essence of economic survival. In short, putting money back into the factory is not an exercise of free will but an imperative. Furthermore, it becomes evident to the workers that the greater the profits of the factory, the greater the individual income; hence incentive is built into the system.

Alienation Reduction

In their important early work, Coch and French showed that worker morale, absenteeism, turn-over, and affective state vis-a-vis work were all influenced by the degree of participation in decisions that affected the employees personally.[4]

For Marx, the notion of alienation sprang from a separation of man from the means of production; in a traditional capitalist or State capitalist society the worker is external to, or removed from, the nature of work. In addition to theory there is some evidence from Western empirical sociology that supports this general idea. Blumberg points this out very strongly:

> In this participation literature we have seen tremendous diversity on all sides-- diversity in the academic background and theoretical orientation of the researchers, diversity in the conception, design, and execution of the research, diversity in the settings in which the research has taken place,

4. Coch, Lester, and John R.P. French, Jr. "Overcoming resistance to change," Human relations, 1948, I:512-32.

and diversity in the characteristics of the population studied. There is significance in this diversity. It is just this impressive diversity in the participation literature which makes the consistency of the findings, by contrast, even more profound, significant and valid. There is hardly a study in the entire literature which fails to demonstrate that satisfaction in work is enhanced or that other generally acknowledged beneficial consequences accrue from a genuine increase in workers' decision-making power. Such consistency of findings, I submit, is rare in social research.[5]

5. Blumberg, Paul. Industrial democracy. London, Constable & Co., Ltd., 1968, p. 123. Emphasis in the original.

CO-DETERMINATION AND THE HUMANITIES

MELVIN RADER

Civilized human beings have invented the most cunning machines; they have hurled rockets to the far reaches of the solar system; they have tapped the primal energies of the universe. But the values and institutions of the free community have not kept pace with this technological revolution. The price humanity has paid for its lopsided development includes wars, totalitarian regimes, class and racial tensions, and the danger of nuclear holocaust. The maladjustment is most severe at the polar extremes: on the one hand, alienated personal relations, on the other hand, international anarchy.

What has all this to do with labor-management co-determination? Worker participation in economic management is not a panacea, but it may be an important way to improve interpersonal relations and lessen world tensions. Part of the trouble at the interpersonal level is the dominance of bureaucratic structures: big government, big business, big labor organization, bigness in almost every area of life. The principal disadvantage of this bureaucratic gigantism is depersonalization. As organizations grow larger, their hierarchical structures become more elaborate, communications between their various levels become more difficult, and the managers tend increasingly to regard the rank-and-file as pawns to manipulate. Bureaucracy has this effect whether it be in the form of socialism or private capitalism. Socialism is a mask for tyranny unless accompanied by a decentralization and democritization of power, but capitalism in its corporate gigantism is no viable alternative. Something more is needed than a huge, centralized, computerized bureaucracy whether outside or inside the "Iron Curtain."

Among the experiments that seem to promise better human relations are the efforts at work redesign and democracy that have flourished recently in Scandinavia. On a number of Norwegian commercial vessels, for example, the traditional rigid hierarchy of officer control has

been replaced by management-sharing with the crew. There has been re-training on board and on shore to broaden the skills of everyone employed, and to prepare all to share in work planning and execution. One sign of the change in attitudes is that the former separate eating areas for officers and crew have been combined into one. The ship owners now find it easier to recruit and hold workers. There is more of a spirit of camaraderie.

In Sweden one of the best-known examples of work redesign occurs in the Volvo automobile factory. The assembly line, with its extreme monotony, has been replaced by cooperative work teams in which jobs are shared and rotated. Because there is more variety in work and more training and learning, the jobs are more skilled and much less boring. And because the workers have more quality control over their surroundings as well as their products, the plant is a pleasant place to work, with less noise, more light and cleanliness, and better architectural design. These examples may be the beginning of far-reaching transformation; but the improvements, both in Norway and Sweden, have involved hard bargaining between management and labor.

Unlike any other member of this panel I have no expert knowledge of worker co-determination, whether it be in a Western European country such as the Federal Republic of Germany or the more socialized industrial system of Yugoslavia. I can only express my hope on the basis of limited knowledge that there will be much more experimentation in industrial democracy. Technological efficiency alone will not suffice. It is well to remember that the most terrible war in history was spearheaded by Germany, the most technologically advanced country in Europe, and by Japan, the most technologically advanced country in Asia. Organizational forms which appear to serve "efficiency" in fact lose even "efficiency" when they fail to serve humanity.

Whatever the future century may hold, it will be different from the past. The terrific clash of interests which breeds strikes, riots, wars, and revolutions testifies to the immense impetus of the world-transformation. These changes are too pervasive and profound to be dismissed as temporary aberrations. If employers and workers and consumers are guided by understanding and good will, they can mitigate the cruelty of the transition and help to build a humane and rational society. The new order should put <u>personal</u> relations at the focus of life while utilizing <u>humanely</u> the immense potentialities of a technological and scientific age. I cherish the hope that experiments in work-democracy both in the United States and abroad may contribute to this end.

EMPLOYEES AND THE LAW

CORNELIUS J. PECK

The work force in the United States consists of approximately 90 million persons. Approximately 40% of that work force are women. Somewhat more than one out of every seven persons employed works for the federal government, a state government, or a local subdivision of government. Approximately four times as many persons are employed by state and local governments than are employed by the federal government. About 20% of the entire work force, or 25% of the non-agricultural work force, are represented by labor unions and work under collective bargaining agreements.

Thus, most of the American work force has neither the protection of union representation nor the protection of civil service laws. Although other arrangements may be made-- such as a contract for employment for a specified period of time-- the usual employment relationship is that of employment at will, which means that the employment relationship may be terminated without cause or even for a bad cause. This involves a tremendous potential for harm to employees.

The cashier-checker working at a supermarket who is told that her job is over need not be given reasons for the termination of her employment. However, when she seeks employment elsewhere she will almost certainly be asked why she left her last job. When she says her last job was terminated without cause, the prospective employer is very likely to assume that she was discharged for theft or dishonesty and thus will refuse to hire her.

An old stereotype of behavior is that of the male employer who demands sexual favors from a younger female employee as a condition of continued employment or favorable job treatment. Until recently there was no remedy for the woman who lost her job because she would not comply with such an employer's demands. (Recently there have been a few cases holding that permitting such conditions to prevail constitutes a violation of the prohibitions of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act against sex discrimination.)

Through Title VII, most employees today are protected against employment discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. There is also a prohibition against discrimination on the basis of age against persons between the ages of 40 and 65. The National Labor Relations Act protects an employee in the private sector from discrimination because the employee engaged in union activities. Other statutory provisions protect employees from discrimination because they filed claims under the minimum wage laws or the workmen's compensation laws. But such protection is very particularized, and it does not alter the general picture that most employees working working without the benefit of a collective bargaining agreement have no job security or protection from arbitrary and unreasonable conduct by their employers.

Not all government employees are protected by civil service laws, but it seems likely that most of them are. The civil service laws, designed to prevent displacement of employees as a result of political patronage, do require that cause be shown for dismissal of an employee. But the protection is paternal in nature-- something given the employees rather than

created by them. It does not assure public employees of an opportunity to participate in the planning of the operations of the government agency or to have a word in setting the terms and conditions under which work is done. This is probably one of the reasons why public employment is the area in which the labor movement is actually effectively organizing employees. The State County and Municipal Workers Union is now the fastest growing union in the nation and it is now probably fourth or fifth in size.

Employees represented by labor unions work under conditions established by a collective bargaining agreement. Approximately 95% of the collective bargaining agreements contain grievance and arbitration procedures. If an employee believes he has been improperly disciplined or discharged, he seeks the assistance of the union. If the union finds merit in his case, it may process his grievance through to arbitration before an independent, neutral arbitrator, who will hear the case and make a decision, much as a judge would, as to whether the employer had just cause for the discipline or the discharge of the employee. Arbitrators are chosen by the employer and the union from lists provided by the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, the American Arbitration Association, or from arbitrators known to both parties.

An individual employee does not have the right to arbitrate the propriety of the discipline or discharge. The union must be persuaded that the case is a good one. However, recent decisions have established that unions have a duty of fair representation and that they may not arbitrarily, discriminatorialy, or in bad faith refuse to process the grievance of a represented employee.

The duty to bargain established by the National Labor Relations Act has been construed to fix mandatory subjects of bargaining over terms and conditions of employment, such as wages, hours, shifts, etc. Other subjects are considered to be only permissive. Thus a union seeking to negotiate over the dividend rate, the capital reinvestment rate, or the employer's pricing policy could, and most probably would, be told that the subject was only permissive and that the employer did not care to bargain on that subject. (The National Labor Relations Board will require an employer to negotiate about subcontracting work if the subcontracting would eliminate or otherwise adversely affect the employment of the represented employees.) Thus the National Labor Relations Act would not require discussions between employers and unions of matters of the kind which will be decided in Germany through co-determination.

A NINE-TO-FIVE BILL OF RIGHTS

JAY HIGBEE

The purpose of this presentation is to discuss the need for what might be called a "nine-to-five Bill of Rights" for the American worker and to give consideration to the potential and the limits of co-determination in American labor-management relations. The scope of this discussion includes the nature of rights and their growth; the kind of incursions occurring on the job that threaten life, health, and property; the trade-off of rights that occurs because of economic considerations; the worker's culpability in this trade-off; and the threat of government intervention and danger to American democracy if the workers and management do not co-determine to safeguard themselves on the job and to safeguard the consumer of their products by suitable product safety standards.

The American Declaration of Independence asserts that we have certain unalienable rights, and that "to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men. ... Whenever it becomes destructive of these rights, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it." These rights predate government and are not susceptible to complete enumeration, as is evident from the Ninth Amendment: "The enumeration ... shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people."

Modern technology has resulted in new rights unforseen by the Founding Fathers; for example, the right of contraceptive information, the right of abortion, the right to damages if airline flight confirmations are not honored, or compensation for bodily impairment on the job.

Many technological processes and products are of unknown and/or unreported hazard to worker and consumer alike. Both workers and management have a responsibility to themselves and to the public for ascertaining, reporting, and correcting these unknown hazards.

I am not aware that under collective bargaining, unions have addressed the issue of consumer safety of the product being made (e.g. the safety of an automobile which claims even the lives of its producers). I am aware that even when a health and safety issue is clearly established, workers and unions will join with managment in deploring safety or pollution standards set by the government, and in pleading for a reduction in these standards or a delay in enforcement, allegedly because compliance is too costly and threatened shutdowns means a loss of jobs. This willing trade-off of health and safety for job security is perhaps no more dramatically illustrated than in the case of the workers at the ARSARCO smelter in Tacoma, where arsenic fall-out has contaminated gardens entered the food chain, permeating the bloodstream of the workers' children. We have the spectacle of city government, management, and workers all united against pollution-control agencies in order to save a major community payroll.

The issues posed by pollution might well be a matter of mutual interest to be approached through a process of co-determination, rather than treated in collective bargaining in an adversarial manner (if treated at all). The inherent potential for improvement in this case is limited

by the attitude of the workers themselves, a classic example of a situation in which an ounce of prevention years earlier could have prevented the "pounding" they are taking from the proposed cure.

While the proprietary rights of workers (such issues as jurisdiction, seniority, overtime, lay-offs, etc.) have traditionally been faced in an adversarial negotiation with management, perhaps it is time to consider issues of worker health and safety as a matter of mutual concern between union and management. Both have an interest in human resources as the basis of their well-being. Perhaps these rights of life (including considerations of health and safety), liberty (freedom of choice based on informed consent), and property (proprietary aspects of a job) can be better defined and furthered through co-determination than by the adversarial procedure of collective bargaining.

Freedom of choice as to where one works presupposes an informed consent, yet this right is a matter of only relatively recent attention. From California to Virginia we have devastating examples of management not informing its own employees of insidious health hazards on the job. Tony Mazaki, Vice-president of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers Union, has given a dramatic example of workers at the Occidental Chemical Company who were exposed to the chemical DBCP, which has been known since 1961 to producers of the substance (Dow Chemical and Shell Oil companies) as a cancer-producing agent. In 1976 these workers, taking note of the fact that none of their wives were having children, had themselves tested and discovered they were sterile. Some 2,000 workers had been exposed. Although a University of California researcher had published in a 1961 issue of the Journal of Pharmacology his findings about DBCP (from a study commissioned by the Dow Chemical Company), Mazaki noted in his 1977 television appearance that back in 1961 he just wasn't reading that type of journal upon coming home from work! Nor had the workers been advised of these findings. When Mazaki was questioned by NBC-TV correspondent Tom Brokaw as to why workers continued in those places where the hazard was known, such as Allied Chemical's kepone plant in Virginia (where the James River was severely polluted and workers suffered severe central nervous system disorders) Mazaki responded, "Everyone has to eat, and that is an imperative which no one can put aside. If you don't go to work in a pesticide plant, you work in an oil refinery, or a similar occupation that may have similar or different hazards."

The "right to know" is gaining substantial headway, as evidenced by the increasing frequency of civil damages and even criminal prosecution.

Yet governmental intervention, however well-intentioned and born of neglect or abuse elsewhere, is a crude tool that can rarely be honed to deal with all pertinent situations without some abuse and/or understandable backlash; e.g. the charge of reverse discrimination, or the petty regulations of the OSHA of only marginal safety value (for example, regulating the height of toilet stools).

Some time ago, an editorial in U.S. News and World Report suggested that we have moved into an era of accountability rather than responsibility. In simple terms: As long as I can blame you for it, never mind my own responsibilty. Yet as President Wilson once said (as quoted by

my first college history teacher, who was a student of Wilson's at Princeton), "A democratic nation cannot long endure when its citizens are long on their rights and short on their individual responsibilities."

Labor and management should each get its own house in order in regard to human rights, with co-determination as a device for doing so. Their success in this could well forestall further governmental intervention compounding the dimensions of the age-old problem: Who will protect us from our (governmental) protector?

The Discussion

Ms. Marie-Pierre Koban noted that consumers, like laborers, need to accept more responsibility. Prof. Higbee agreed and commented that the Consumer Protection Bill was voted down primarily because we are feeling overburdened by government, as manifested both in regulations and in taxation.

Citing a situation close to home, Mr. Stewart remarked on the difference it would make in Tacoma's pollution problem if management were required to provide the workers with reliable information on the cost of reducing pollution and if workers were partially responsible for decisions affecting plant operations. Prof. Nostrand inquired whether, if no other feature of co-determination were practicable in the United States, there might be support at least for a law requiring full disclosure of such facts by management, either publicly or to the workers. The answer appeared to be that this might well fit into a current-- or recent?-- trend of our culture.

As Prof. Peck had explained, the legislative bodies have passed some few statutes that begin to protect the worker, but the American worker's rights are minor, compared to those of his counterpart in Europe. Primarily, the American worker is unorganized and will remain so unless formal legislation insisting upon such organization is passed. Working conditions would improve rapidly if the individual could, through co-determination, control his own grievances-- particularly in view of the fact that those areas termed "permissive subjects" at the bargaining table seem to be those with which co-determination is most concerned. For instance, in many small business concerns such as those for which ceramic tile layers work, it would be to their advantage if the employer were to provide a certain amount of advertising. This would insure job security for the layers. Their union wanted to negotiate for an industry promotion fund as part of the agreements at the bargaining table. The National Labor Relations Board said No; this was a permissive subject.

Prof. Saxberg inquired whether a company may set up its own union for its employees; to which Prof. Peck's response was that legally it may not; a union must be a spontaneous activity of the employees. (Government employees are not subject to the National Labor Relations Act; in a State university, a situation can exist which closely resembles a company union.) Prof. Saxberg remarked that this would make it difficult for a company to introduce a participative type of arrangement with the labor force.

Mr. Stewart remarked that when he first encountered co-determination in Germany, he had taken it to be company-established unions, but he found he had been wrong. He went on to say that an advantage of co-determination over collective bargaining is that it eliminates the adversary system ingrained in American labor-management practices. He suggested that in a co-determination situation even pricing could become a subject of bargaining-- a topic of importance to both the employer and the employee, but one which no employer today would allow unions to negotiate.

There followed an interesting discussion of what has happened to organized labor in America. Prof. Peck stated that the labor movement is losing its spirit, its philosophy. Unions are not prized as they were in the forties and fifties. This may indicate that the American worker currently lacks the philosophy of life-- an involvement-oriented attitude-- necessary for the success of co-determination. Mr. Stewart added that some of the loss of spirit within the unions may have come about because union leaders have lost their enthusiasm for the cause and are more concerned with selfish interests. Prof. Rader supported these statements, saying that the difficulty in the labor unions is tied, to a great extent, to their bureaucratic structure. He quoted Karl Popper as saying that we are moving toward a completely abstract or depersonalized society, and this includes our trade unions. He therefore favors the establishment of co-determination so that more personalized and humanized relations may be developed both on the job and in our economic life in general.

Ms. Glover contended that the United States is currently the most productive nation in the world; the workers are presently producing all they can produce. She questioned whether the social conditions are any better in communist countries than here. Prof. Rader replied that they do seem to be better in Norway and Sweden, in terms of a fairer division of wealth. However, it is difficult to compare the communist countries with the United States, since they started at a much lower economic level. Without defending the Russian bureaucracy, it does deserve some credit. Dr. Frease added that it is actually because productivity is currently on the decline in the United States that an interest in co-determination has arisen in public monitoring agencies.

Ms. Glover then expressed a concern that co-determination proposes to do away with capitalism and may remove the individual's desire to progress, thus encouraging laziness in the labor force. Prof. Rader replied that it is not necessary that co-determination lead to either communism or socialism or to the abolition of incentives. It is possible for it to operate successfully within a capitalist society and to improve the worker's situation. He added that in any case capitalism, socialism, and communism as we know them today will undoubtedly change tremendously within the next fifty years.

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LANGUAGE EDUCATION

SUZANNE RICARD, Rapporteur

The April 2 and April 9 sessions of the public discussions about American Civic Issues were devoted to the subject of language education. The sessions opened with a panel presentation which then developed into an open forum of discussion, brainstorming, and planning for future action. Moderator of the two sessions was Prof. Howard Lee Nostrand of the University of Washington, and present as panelists were the following members of Seattle and other Washington State communities:

April 2: Virginia Simon, representative of Altrusa Club of Seattle, a women's service organization
Robert Hagopian, Executive Producer of the educational TV channel, KCTS 9
Robert Guy, Program Director of the commercial TV channel, KING 5

April 9: John McFarland, Educational Services Consultant for The Seattle Times
Bruce Whitmore, child psychologist from Richland, Washington
Harry Reinert, current president of the Washington Association of Foreign Language Teachers (WAFLT)

The questions addressed by the panelists could be summarized as follows:

I. What are the foreign language needs of different sizes of learning audiences, and how can these needs be met by different teaching methods?

II. What is the role of foreign languages in basic education?

III. What can be done to better serve groups with foreign language needs and to uphold the standard of including foreign languages in education?

The panel presentations and subsequent discussion relevant to each question will be summarized in this report. The first question (I) encompasses some aspects not discussed at the two sessions and for this reason, the series moderator compiled and distributed a more complete listing of foreign language needs and the efforts to meet them at the individual, community, national, and international levels. This information follows the report itself.

Language education, like any type of education, should satisfy particular needs of a group or individual. The process of education should create an atmosphere conducive to inquiry and self-expression, elements which often result in the discovery of new and ideally higher needs. When done well, education satisfies given needs and creates new ones; the limit to this cycle is the energy and intelligence of the educated themselves.

Language education must be sufficiently diverse and flexible to meet the needs of different sizes of learning audiences, from families to communities and nations. The methods used to meet foreign language needs are as important as recognizing the needs themselves. During the two sessions, television (commercial and educational), newspapers, community groups, and classroom teaching were discussed as methods which have applications to foreign language education. Each will be included as it was mentioned in the panel presentations and in the discussions.

I. What are the foreign language needs of different sizes of learning audiences? How can these needs be met by different teaching methods?

Language education in families and communities

Most large cities are multi-ethnic and many are experiencing an increase in the number of aliens in the general population. Seattle is a prominent example (R. Royer). Many of these residents and new citizens have difficulty qualifying for jobs because of the English language requirement (Ms. Embalada). These groups have a crucial foreign language need.

The Altrusa Club of Seattle, a women's service organization, has succeeded in meeting the needs of non-English-speaking people in the Seattle area. The Altrusa Club Language Bank was created in 1967 to provide a liaison between these people and persons in the community who speak foreign languages. Altrusa representative Virginia Simon mentioned lack of communication as the greatest problem encountered by tourists and new residents. When asked if more volunteers were needed by the Language Bank (A. Keller), Ms. Simon responded that foreign language speakers are always needed, especially those who can speak Chinese. The main function of the Language Bank is to provide foreign language speakers in situations of communication difficulty. Translation is a secondary function, although it is also done.

A newspaper article about the Altrusa Language Bank generated nationwide interest in the project (Prof. Nostrand); however, the State of Washington has yet to initiate efforts to organize such a program statewide (R. Royer). Difficulties in financing are most often cited as the barriers to beginning such a service in all parts of the state. Other Altrusa Clubs, Chicago in particular, have been able to secure funds for projects, and these groups could be excellent sources of information about successful financing.

It is evident that non-English-speaking people have important language needs. What are the needs of English-speaking people which can be met at the family and community levels?

III. What can be done to better serve groups with foreign language needs and to uphold the standard of including foreign languages in education?

The groups to be served could be divided into two levels: community and national. At the community level, students are again a topic of discussion. Young people need to use their abilities successfully and foreign language study can satisfy this need to learn and to understand; however, students should be told that success involves hard work and the assimilation of knowledge. It is important that teachers be honest about these facts (H. Reinert). It should not be feared that students will not respond to a challenge. A 50% enrollment in foreign language programs, such as that on Mercer Island, is proof that students need to perform (E. Matkovick). A simple, but very effective way of meeting the needs of students is to provide them with good teachers and a positive experience in school (B. Whitmore).

Success at the classroom level will become well established in the community and can mold legislative decisions as well as change them if they are an inaccurate reflection of public sentiment. The most urgent foreign language issue is the changing of the Basic Education Act (E. Matkovick) and the fact that there will be a new legislature next January is an excellent opportunity to re-educate community representatives (H. Reinert). It is important that letters be written to try to influence each legislator, bearing in mind that attitudes in the House are not the same as those in the Senate (H. Nostrand).

Foreign language needs at the national level are well described by the response to the question: What are our goals as a nation? (B. Whitmore). Does the response include a foreign language component? Because of its special heritage, American national identity is multi-cultural and multi-ethnic. This background creates foreign language needs, yet it also provides a resource for meeting these needs-- the people themselves. Allowing the national identity to include all aspects of its heritage will help each American to gain a special sense of identity with the country and a desire to function productively in it.

In conclusion, several plans of action have resulted from the two Language Education panel presentations and open discussions. They include the following:

1. the need to publicize the services of the Seattle Language Bank;
2. the value of the language page to be added to a widely circulating newspaper;
3. the need to inform television stations of public needs and preferences in the area of foreign language programming;
4. the importance of close contact with schools and insistence on a standard of good teaching in all subjects, especially foreign languages;
5. the importance of the inclusion of foreign languages into the public concept of basic education as has occurred with art and music, and its reclassification in the Basic Education Act of the State of Washington.

Child development studies indicate that general learning potential and academic achievement are enhanced when a child successfully learns two languages by the age of six. This is the point at which about 90% of individual learning potential has been achieved, and therefore it marks a period in life when a change in learning patterns occurs (B. Whitmore). The early acquisition of a foreign language can therefore develop the learning ability of any child, regardless of its native language. Non-English-speaking communities could be considered as representing an untapped educational resource for those who are English-speaking only.

NEWSPAPERS IN THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE CLASSROOM

JOHN McFARLAND

The story of how newspapers can help teachers of foreign languages is soon and simply told. What The Seattle Times is tentatively planning to do along these lines other newspapers can of course do as well. . . "as well," that is, in the sense of "also."

Perhaps the best place in the paper to begin in our attempt to provide a source of foreign language reinforcement is with the comics, since they are pleasant and quite unforbidding to students, and not all that often used as instructional resources. As it happens, one of the comic strips The Times regularly runs in its pages, Asterix and Obelix, is French in origin. Our idea is to put the original French strip just above or below the translated English version we are already running every day. This arrangement would be useful in at least two important ways:

1. Small segments of both languages together with pictorial clues as to meaning would be available for instant comparison.
2. To students, the foreign language would take on that psychological reality of a true and genuine means of expression as opposed to just another classroom exercise devised by teachers to fill the hours spent at school.

An alternative idea would be to place either the English or the French version elsewhere in the newspaper precisely so the two are not available for immediate comparison. Students could then try translations of their own from one language to the other. A sidelight of some interest on this particular comic strip is that we had considered dropping it. Results from a recent reader survey, however, quickly changed our editors' collective mind on the subject. Asterix and Obelix, it appears, rates high among readers in interest and amusement. Without belaboring the point, it is a decided advantage from the start if the material students will be translating is certifiably amusing and interesting.

Variations on this same general theme are almost endless, of course. This same strip could be translated into other languages besides French. Other comics with one-line captions widely separated in setting, subject, and viewpoint could be used: The Family Circus, for example, or The Girls or Frank & Ernest.

Although, as we have suggested, the comic page is a good place to start, it is not where we want to stop. What we are aiming for, in addition, is a Foreign Language Page in its own right much like that of the Junior Times that appears every Saturday, a slip-out page designed to be removed from the newspaper.

Needless to stress, a Foreign Language Page would open much wider vistas for student and teacher alike. A variety of features could fill this page. One of the ideas suggested to me that I think would be very valuable: an account in the native language of remembered impressions by someone who moved to Seattle from a foreign country as a teenager, or younger, or older. Impressions good and bad. What was most strikingly different? What did not square with preconceived notions? What was hardest to adjust to, most baffling, most exhilarating, awe-inspiring, etc? Besides training in the language itself, such a feature would serve as a kind of surrogate trip to the country itself. "Is that really what teenagers had to do over there?" It would focus the spotlight on some of our own values and customs too. "Great, weird, Hmm!" This hmm on the part of students, if it happens, can be the beginning of an education in itself. What may always before have been regarded as a universal truth in students' minds is suddenly unmasked as mostly a matter of opinion.

The cardinal virtue of a piece like this would be its stamp of authenticity, its ring of realness. I remember as a teacher my great admiration for textbook writers as they resourcefully managed to weave a running narrative with three adjectives and their corresponding adverbs to every sentence. It was essentially artificial, of course, but the main goal of demonstrating the formation of adverbs from adjectives had been achieved. Our contributors, on the other hand, will be free of any such constraints and what they write far more interesting as a result. This kind of writing by a transplanted native has a better chance of generating student involvement with the country's culture, customs, and outlook. Involvement like this makes learning the language seem at once more necessary and less arduous.

But where would we find these people from different countries to write these articles? That's the satisfying beauty of it all! Right here in increasingly cosmopolitan Seattle. There is no need to go tripping off to New York or to the other Washington or Los Angeles in an effort to tap those distant resources, syndicated or otherwise. What we need is right here at our very doorstep.

As the Page matures, we hope it will develop into a nice balance between what we offer the students and what the students offer us. We would especially like to see contributions from students who may themselves have traveled abroad during the summer, complete with whole catalogues of discovery and confirmation: "You know, they really DO say this, wear that, etc." Right here it may be well to invent an old saying: An ounce of information, confirmation, advice, or warning from another student is worth a pound of the same commodity from a teacher. From students also we would hope to have cartoons and puzzles and word games similar in format to ones we would offer ... or not at all similar. We could adapt with no trouble any of the three kinds of word puzzles we are already running in The Times.

As is doubtless clear to everyone, the Page would not be a course of instruction. It would be designed as supplement, reinforcement, motivation builder. Without sermon or lecture it would underscore the reality that a foreign language is more than a classroom subject. It is a way of tuning in on the excitement of different places, ideas, and people. We are pretty hopeful about students becoming involved with the Page partly at least because of the lure of seeing some of their own creations in print, and not just in the school newspaper at that.

Maybe the greatest service the newspaper could render is psychological in nature. The newspaper does not (in students' minds) carry the taint a textbook does. It comes in from the "real" world outside and is read by the generality of humankind, not just (again from a students' eye view) by a captive band of classroom-cloistered pupils.

The idea of the addition of a foreign-language section to a large daily newspaper received an immediate positive reaction from the discussion participants. Ideas proposed for the page included the following:

* letters from foreign students and correspondents which would be published in the original language (F. Nostrand)
* menus from Seattle's ethnic restaurants, which would teach culture as well as language, and perhaps even generate business for the establishment (E. Matkovick)
* travel tips before long vacations (U. Criminale)
* comic strips in several languages, with perhaps the addition of Esperanto (J. Noyes and T. O'Neill)

The last idea was further supported by Prof. Nostrand, as it would demonstrate possible points of connection between English and several other languages, including a constructed language.

Classroom teaching is still one of the most effective methods used in language education. Although television programming has become very attractive, especially to young people, the one-to-one immediacy of a classroom is more effective in language instruction. Robert Hagopian concludes that educational television can function best by supplying cultural variety programs which nurture foreign language interest, rather than by attempting to broadcast language learning programs. He bases this conclusion on the importance of feedback in the learning process, especially when learning material which requires accurate reproduction of sounds. He cites as essential the question of whether foreign languages can be learned by watching a television program.

Television brought into the classroom has instructional value and is a popular teaching tool in many school districts (L. Collins). It is still best used, however, in a setting which includes a teacher. Betamax equipment is widely used in classrooms, but the issue of the legality of using videotaped television material is yet to be settled in courts and could restrict its use (J. Noyes and R. Guy).

Families and community groups are partial to classroom teaching as a method of education in general because it is an aspect of education which is still within the control of parents and taxpayers. Residence in a particular area is often a statement of parents' confidence in the school district. Bruce Whitmore describes such a situation in the Lower Yakima Valley where 30-40% of the population is Spanish-speaking. The schools in that area are particularly effective in teaching and using the two languages, and this success has attracted new residents. Families and communities are also able to exercise control of classroom education when it becomes unsuccessful. Parents who are aware of the problem of semiliteracy among high school students are attempting to reverse the trend by changing educational practices at the level of the classroom.

Harry Reinert stressed the effectiveness of excellent teaching in successful language learning. A class which is inspired and challenged by a competent teacher can still progress better than a student working alone or with a television. Mr. Reinert suggests that participants consider the student's view of learning, at the moment of teaching. It is this moment, and not thoughts of future travel or career advancement, that wins or loses the student.

Language education at national and international levels

Of all the teaching methods discussed during the two sessions, television is seen as the most applicable to national and international audiences. Discussion participants were quite clear as to their preferences in programming. The concept of the world as a classroom is particularly well presented by appropriate TV programming, such as a special on the Louvre Museum, filmed in French and so broadcast, if possible (Becky Whitmore). The question was raised as to why such programs have not been broadcast recently and if they were televised in the past (J. Carlstrom). Robert Hagopian responded that they were broadcast in the past and with great success, but that their expense now precluded further production of such programs for television.

The incorporation of the appropriate foreign language into travel documentaries would be another method of presenting languages via TV (A. Keller). Travel programs, however, are traditionally viewed by an older audience, and advertisers prefer to buy programming popular with an audience between the ages of 18 and 49. This situation can result in financial problems (R. Guy). John Noyes recalled excellent foreign language and ethnic group programs produced by KXA radio, and suggested that this type of programming serve as a model for further efforts by television.

Public interest in foreign language programs must be made clear to television programmers. Robert Hagopian states that in the five years that Channel 9 has had an "open studio" policy toward viewer preferences, there have been few requests for foreign language teaching programs (but many for programs broadcast in the original language and run with subtitles). Such a response, however, is not surprising, considering poor public awareness of the multi-ethnicity of Seattle and of the variety of languages spoken in this area. It is the place of television to take the initial step to stimulate awareness with appropriate programming (R. Royer). The programming efforts of other nations are noteworthy, in particular Sweden, where non-Swedish-speaking people are provided with federally-funded foreign language teaching programs (U. Criminale), and Japan, where American programs are presented in English and have become part of language teaching (J. Jackson).

The broadcasting of foreign programs over American television channels could be an excellent method of introducing foreign languages by use of a culturally authentic experience (K. García). Ms. García mentions that programs from Mexico, for example, could be shown in the Southwestern United States. This type of exchange has been attempted by Sacramento (California) stations and the process is difficult. These difficulties should diminish, however, as international programming becomes more common. An International Television Programming meeting was held recently in Milan (Italy) and such questions as programming exchange were discussed (R. Hagopian). The use of satellite transmission in international programming will allow an increase in the number of TV channels to perhaps 40 and permit the creation of "vertical programming," whereby one channel will broadcast one type of program throughout the day. There is no question that international broadcasting will change language learning, even if it be indirectly as the result of television viewers being introduced to other cultures and languages (R. Guy). Robert Guy, when pressed about the quality of this programming and of TV programming in general, asks this question of educators: "After 65 years of a captive audience, why has education failed to upgrade the tastes of Americans?" This question is pertinent to the second issue discussed during the sessions, the role of foreign languages in basic education.

II. What is the role of foreign language in basic education?

Harry Reinert began his presentation about foreign language education with a mention of thanks to John McFarland for the Seattle Times statement of support for foreign languages as a part of basic education. This statement followed the legislature's exclusion of foreign languages, by name, from the Basic Education Act. Mr. Reinert proposes that an important aspect of this exclusion is the fact that many parents contend that the foreign language training in their educational background was never used and therefore unnecessary. Such parents, continues Mr. Reinert, would rarely make the same statement about five or six years of piano lessons, even though few such students of piano ever become concert performers.

The intrinsic benefits of learning a foreign language and of gaining insight into another culture are to be stressed when presenting foreign languages as part of basic education. Too often, "spin-off" benefits, such as conversational ability when traveling or increased job mobility, are offered as the main justification for foreign language study. These benefits are no longer satisfactory, according to Mr. Reinert, because they are too easily affected by the vicissitudes of public taste. This change in public taste was responsible for the exclusion of Latin from most public school curricula and it should not be the basis for such sweeping change. It is important to state that a basic education is both general and complete and that it includes the study of subjects for their intrinsic educational value as well as utilitarian purposes.

The discussion of basic education also introduces the question of minimum competency testing. Panelist Bruce Whitmore finds that the adoption of minimum competency standards dimirishes the difficulty encountered by the student who must change school districts. Moderator Howard Nostrand plans to endorse the idea of such standards unless dissuaded from doing so during these open discussion sessions. This statement encouraged debate on the subject of the value of such minimum standards as part of teacher as well as student accountability (E. Matkovick). One reservation is the fact that often students may work only to meet the minimum standard and not to capacity (Becky Whitmore). A minimum, however, can include different levels of achievement such as excellent, good, minimum, etc. (H.L. Nostrand). Tests can also motivate a student to study toward a definite goal (K. García) and can provide information about different levels of understanding, including what constitutes failure (T. O'Neill). Finally, minimum competency standards tend to exclude the affective domain, which should not be ignored, considering its importance in motivation (L. Collins). Testing and the minimum competency standard will be some of the themes of the next WAFLT/OAFLT meeting (H. Reinert).

LANGUAGE NEEDS OF INDIVIDUALS AND OF THE COMMUNITY

I. The individual's awareness and skills

a. The need of the individual for an enlightened awareness of language; to be able to "think" this important part of his inner environment, as we need to "think" the biology of chemistry of our body in the enlightening terms of those fields of knowledge.

b. The need of the individual to be able to use the grammar and lexicon-- and phonetics-- of his own language as a craftsman, in order to be an effective person.

c. The need of the individual to be able to communicate, as a traveler or in the U.S., with speakers of at least one foreign language, overcoming the resentment caused by the "Let 'em learn English" attitude; and the need to be an efficient, self-confident learner of languages-- as one can do the most readily by beginning in early childhood. (See point IVa.)

II. The needs of groups in the community

a. The felt need of ethnic groups to maintain their cultural heritage.

b. The need for interpreters in hospitals, courts, etc., addressed by the Language Bank.

c. The need of immigrant adults and children for ESOL instruction.

d. The need of the main-stream groups to comprehend another culture from the inside, and to see their own culture in perspective.

e. The felt need of parents in less affluent districts, for their children to enjoy equal opportunity for self-development.

III. The national interest, and the economic interest of the local region

The need for teams of Americans in all the professions, business, science, the arts and trades, labor organizations, who can exchange information and negotiate effectively with persons of each major language community.

IV. The need for a defensible educational strategy

a. The need to utilize the early-childhood capacity to learn languages spontaneously and to avoid the waste of human resources we incur by beginning a first foreign language at an age when psychological and sociological conditions are adverse.

b. The need for educational opportunities which combine a grounding in the social sciences, a language-and-area competence, and a vocational competence.

V. The need for teacher education, pre- and in-service

a. The scarcity of adequately prepared teachers for bilingual education.

b. The need for preschool and elementary-school teachers with at least a hobby of a foreign language.

LANGUAGE NEEDS, ARRANGED BY LOCUS OF THE MOST EFFECTIVE WAY TO MEET THEM

Note: The first of the two discussions on language education, April 2, 1978, led to the conclusion, among others, that an effective effort means a pattern of different efforts, some of which can be effective on a local scale, others on the scale of larger areas. The present outline is intended to illustrate this proposition and to serve as a basis for further discussions among representatives of schools, colleges, the media, and interested organizations and agencies.

The neighborhood is the focus for meeting the individual and group needs listed in sections I and II of "Language Needs of Individuals and of the Community"; and likewise, for applying "a defensible educational strategy," section IV. It is the focus for the interchange between school and community.

- The elderly can teach preschool and school children; school children and older students can teach foreign adults.
- Ethnic groups can not only celebrate their traditions, but invite outsiders to experience them.
- For high-school students from the age of about 15 who are learning a foreign language, members of the community who have friends abroad can help to arrange family-to-family exchanges in summers. The young visitors not only learn about life in the host country, but substantially increase the motivation of their host and his or her peer group to learn the foreign language.
- Neighborhood newspapers can spread successful practices by giving news of them.

The urban or comparable rural area is the focus for discussion of a region's common needs.

- The media can serve here as vehicle for making needs known, for combating prejudices, for examining constructive ideas such as cultural pluralism, and for helping organizations recruit volunteers for such services as a "language bank" of interpreters for emergencies.
- In Boston, radio and TV, as well as open meetings, are used by a Chinese Education Committee to maintain contact between the ethnic group and the school system.
- The city-wide focus is appropriate for the commercial and cultural "festival" designed to promote relations with a foreign country or culture area.
- This focus is also the best size for adult education such as at the University of Nancy, France, where radio and TV offer some of the optional ways of continuing study of a language after a basic course in a classroom.

The state "level" can be the focus, first of all, for a stock-taking effort. The Massachusetts Advisory Council on Education, for example, commissioned a private organization, the Institute for Re-

sponsive Education, to produce a handbook, Together: Schools and Communities (Boston, 1977), with "yellow pages" listing the resource agencies for facilitating school-community cooperation.

Certain of the desirable initiatives that stock-taking discovers point logically to the State; for example, the developing of youth hostels to attract young tourists.

The national "level" is appropriate for the production of expensive media programs usable in many communities; for the clearing-house function of generalizing successful local practices; and for systems analysis aiming to define the most efficient division of labor between the neighborhood, city-wide, and larger scales of activity.

The international scale is the locus for studies and production of materials whose usability in several countries can be foreseen. Among such materials are multi-language programs, and alternative sound tracks in different languages for a single documentary film.

This is also the locus for making bilateral and multilateral agreements to facilitate the exchange of educational materials: a potential source of invaluable material for teaching languages in their authentic sociocultural context, but a source now largely unusable because of legal restrictions, notably those imposed by trade unions in the contracts governing the production of filmed and videotaped materials.

If there were sufficient communication between producers and consumers, the producers would surely be susceptible to the excitement of meeting educational needs abroad, in exchange for richer educational opportunities for their own children and communities.

SUMMARY OF THE VALUES OF FOREIGN-LANGUAGE STUDY

Howard Nostrand, University of Washington

October, 1977

A. Value for the individual

1. Even an initial experience of studying a foreign language, ancient or modern, can be a "Copernican step" for the mind: rightly taught, it makes possible an outside perspective on one's own language. With further study, it is a source of craftsmanlike insight into verbal expression.

2. The ability to use a modern foreign language makes possible a hobby of communicating across a cultural barrier, for the broadening of one's understanding and one's life, for pleasure and for service. It is a personal satisfaction to help make the increasing intercultural contact serve human values: left to itself, that contact has as much, or more, the effect of creating hostilities.

3. A first foreign language, begun by an enlightened method, enables one to learn faster what one may later want to know of other languages for a career in today's world.

B. Value for society

1. In the national interest (which in the long range includes the good of other peoples) a people today needs, throughout its leadership and its electorate, a realistic understanding of the outside world, free from the warping effect of xenophobic and ethnocentric biases. Such understanding requires education which combines "knowledge about" the relativity of cultures with "experience of" at least one foreign people's way of life, as an example to make real the concept of relativeness; and that experience can be gained the most efficiently through study which includes the foreign people's language. Each culture makes sense in its own terms; translation forces the culture to meet the observer on his terms.

2. For each of the many languages spoken by large populations, a modern nation needs citizens who can combine competence in that language, and in its culture, with one of the many management-type vocations which have come to have international aspects-- such as diplomacy and law, business, industry and banking, medicine, education, the applied arts and trades, labor organizations. In politics and in world trade, the white minority now must make its way by persuasion and by earning good will; the policy of "Let 'em learn English" is as unsafe as colonialism.

3. Competence in a foreign language, spread throughout the vocations, can make the difference between isolation and communication, in each field, with foreign specialists from whom we can learn. (For some specialists, a four-skill competence in one language may better serve this purpose; for others a two-skill competence-- listening-comprehension and reading-- in two or more languages.) The history of scientific and technological advances shows not that the English-speaking "world" is self-sufficient, but that its borrowing of eventually vital innovations across language barriers has often been delayed for years or even for decades.

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SHOULD YOUTH HOSTELS BE SUBSIDIZED IN WASHINGTON?

JOAN STOLTENBERG, Rapporteur

The discussion began with an introduction by Prof. Howard Nostrand. Youth hostels serve such a wide range of needs, he said, that they have a wide-open future. Ours attract young tourists from the U.S., Europe, and the Orient, and can give them a good experience of our region. They can also serve local youth groups who find too little to do with their time. But hostels are not only for young people. For a third year, a New England Elderhostel Office at the University of New Hampshire has arranged a summer educational program, sponsored in 1977 by 23 New England colleges. A part of the wide-open future consists in fact of tourism with a strong educational element: preliminary preparation, observation and learning during the travel, and sometimes further learning and discussion afterward. The American Heritage Association,/ of Lake Oswego, Oregon, uses hostels as well as home stays for American students on summer travels in Europe, and the Association contemplates doing this in the U.S. for European students as their number increases and as more hostels are established.

As the panelists spoke, participants expressed a general preference for hostels that bring together travelers of different ages, and it was pointed out that some organizations of youth hostels are dropping the adjective.

Jan Sander, a University of Washington student from Holland, shared his experiences of hosteling in West Germany, Belgium, and Holland. He felt that hostels provided an excellent opportunity to meet other people, form cross-cultural relationships, and to share thoughts and ideas.

As younger persons usually have little money, hostels also perform the function of providing inexpensive lodging. This makes it easier for such persons to travel more, and for longer periods of time. He also felt that the hostel system could be expanded in the United States, even though this country is much larger geographically. In Washington, hostels could be utilized by travelers from Canada and from Japan, as we have close geographic links with both of those countries.

It is definitely in the public interest to subsidize hostels in order to open more possibilities for travel and for meeting others. Hostels can be a good experience for persons of all ages, not only the young.

Prof. Gervais Reed shared his experiences with hosteling, using slides to show what hostels are like in England, and how they are maintained and operated.

Some of these hostels were located in small towns or in rural areas, and Prof. Reed and his students thus had a fine opportunity to see much of the English countryside. Some of them were near castles, ruins, and cathedrals, and other places unlikely to be surrounded by hotels.

Many of the hostels had originally been large old homes converted to dormitory-like accommodations. All have large living rooms, parlors, or other gathering places where travelers can meet and get to know each other.

Since hostels are so much less expensive than hotels, travelers can often afford to attend plays and concerts that would otherwise be beyond their means. More importantly, the hostel concept made it possible for Prof. Reed's students to see not only the well-known parts of England, but its villages, towns, and people as well.

HOSTELS IN EUROPE AND HERE

DAMIAN BAKEWELL

People-to-people contacts are an important basis for peace and friendship throughout the world. Particularly in Europe, youth hostels have traditionally played an important role to this end. Hosteling was started in Germany by Richard Schirrman, a school teacher, in 1909. His objective was to get students out of crowded industrial cities and into the fresh air of the countryside where they could explore their country and learn about nature.

It was this simple idea which quickly caught on in Europe, and it was accepted by federal and provincial governments as a worthy activity that should be supported. The business community was also a generous contributor to the movement.

Hosteling in the United States is only now being discovered as a healthy, inexpensive and enjoyable method of travel. Providing low-cost housing has enabled thousands of young people from abroad to visit the U.S. and to gain a better understanding of our country and people. Subsidization by the government is necessary to meet the demand for expansion of hostel facilities and to retain the present programs. With the needed funding, this valuable service to the community can continue to provide business to local merchants, restaurants, entertainment spots, etc. Help is needed to encourage our legislators and congressmen that hosteling provides a safe and healthy atmosphere for travellers.

HOSTELS IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

JOSHUA LEHMAN

The Pacific Northwest has strong ties with the Orient, and with Japan in particular. The youth hostel system is quite well developed in Japan; by making more hostels available to Japanese travelers, a greater incentive to travel in this area would be provided. This in turn would generate both enhanced good will and greater tax and other revenues.

We are also very close to Canada, where government support of hosteling is growing. Canadian tourists are a natural hosteling "market" waiting to be tapped.

In their own small way, hostels can assist with energy conservation programs. In emphasizing more simple, non-motorized travel, they give

a greater opportunity for people who wish to travel by public transportation or "under their own steam" to enjoy Washington's beautiful countryside. Hostels could also provide summer employment for students and, as in some European countries, lodging space for school children on field trips.

The State of Washington could be more financially supportive of hostels, as are the Canadian provincial governments. There are various types of subsidy: outright grants, favorable lease arrangements, donation of surplus properties, college intern programs, CETA support, etc. All of these possibilities should be explored. Much can be learned from the experience and legislation of other states and nations.

The Pacific Northwest has a tradition of providing shelter for its visitors. Huts, shelters, campgrounds, and even hostels have a long and illustrious local history. By providing hostel facilities, the state encourages its own citizens and those visiting from elsewhere to better undertand and appreciate the magnificent environment which is Washington, the people who live here, and visitors who have also come to explore and appreciate.

A PERSPECTIVE ON HOSTELING IN THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

TIM HILL

It's easy for me to say Yes, the State of Washington should subsidize hostels. After all, I stayed in hostels eighteen years ago whe I traveled between Europe and India for nine months. Washington ought to get with it and reciprocate with other places in this world which have for years provided low-cost accommodations for American and other foreign travellers.

Why shouldn't the State jump into the hosteling business in a big way? It's only a question of money. The State currently provides several facilities for use as hostels. However, as a City Councilman I know it's easy to advocate a program if someone else has the responsibility of paying for it. Times are rough in Olympia. The State Treasury has far more demands upon it than resources available.

The Legislature last year switched tables on people like me. The responsibility for funding or establishing hostels was placed on local governments or contracting agencies. Engrossed Senate Bill 2460 proclaimed, "The Legislature finds that there is a need for hostels in the State for the safety and welfare of transient persons with limited resources." The State Parks and Recreation Commission is empowered to accept and allocate "grants or monies from any federal or private source" to local public bodies for the support of hostels.

Big deal. What a way to put the ball in local government's court. As a budget-maker I know that Seattle's purse is no fatter than the State's, and every year during the budget sessions we have to give an emphatic No to many groups seeking new or expanded municipal services.

But hostels are different! That's because there are private groups that run them and local governments could help out by providing facilities for hostel shelters and by making available capital grants without being obligated to provide ongoing operating revenue.

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I can already hear City and County budget directors drawing up their breath to bellow out "No support for hostels." The first argument that they will toss out is that Article VIII, Section 7 of the Washington State Constitution prohibits governmental units from providing money or other resources to private individuals or groups. The answer to this is that public funds can legally be allocated to private organizations which provide public services, particularly where, as in the case of hostels, the Legislature has authorized all political subdivisions to get involved. And besides, most federal grants received by local units of government are not constrained by our State Constitution. Some of these grants could be used to provide capital assistance to hostels.

A second problem about providing local help to the hosteling movement is the intense interest that local governments now have in the quality of housing. The focus is on ourselves and our residents and little attention is being given to the low-budget foreign traveller seeking short-term accommodations. The battle cry is Save the neighborhood and maximize the use of funds to help the economically disadvantaged, particularly in finding adequate housing. In spite of the enormity of this problem public officials certainly should be able to find a few dollars to help extend the hosteling movement in our region. After all, hundreds of thousands of dollars are spent each year by governmental units in King County to promote tourism.

In spite of the favorable publicity received by the Sea Haven Hostel in Seattle and the fact that several other hostels have been in existence in the State, there is little public awareness about the need to provide safe, low-cost accommodation for travellers of all ages. The Puget Sound region is well known for its quality of living, and visitors of many nationalities are seen on our streets. The affluent traveller is well taken care of by the burgeoning number of hotels in King County. But what about the traveller who passes through our area by bicycle, hitchhiking or other low-cost form of transportation? Many of our residents (particularly past and present university-level students) have stayed in hostels from Europe to Japan. We should seek to broaden the perspective of our public officials whose nominal assistance could make a substantial improvement to the hosteling program in our State.

Local government should take up the State's challenge to assist in the development of hostel facilities. And that doesn't mean waiting for a federal grant via the State Parks and Recreation Commission as provided in engrossed Senate Bill 2460. That may happen in the next millenium. Cities, counties and port districts can review their real-estate holdings and determine whether there are buildings surplus to their needs which might be used as hostels. For example, the City of Seattle has extensive holdings on the Skagit River and in the Cedar and Tolt River watersheds. I intend to inquire of City Light and Water Department to determine whether there are any unused facilities available. Another way in which local governments can help is by seeking federal funds (possibly Community Development Block Grants) to provide capital grants in assisting private organizations to remodel hostel structures.

In summary, the hosteling movement in the State of Washington needs the help of local government. A small investment in modest accommodations for the low-budget traveller is a sound investment.

THE GOVERNMENTAL ROLE IN HOSTELS: HOW MUCH?

ELEANOR LEE

The youth hostel idea started in Germany at the beginning of this century. It spread quickly throughout Europe, primarily as a cultural and educational institution. It took about thirty years for the idea to cross the Atlantic Ocean. The first youth hostels were started in the United States about forty years ago. It took another thirty years for the idea to catch on.

Dozens of hostel facilities sprung up in this state during the 1930's. None of them are in use any longer. World War II closed them down initially; increased fire, safety and health standards kept them closed after the war. However, in the last five years a sudden burgeoning in the use of hostels has taken place throughout the United States, particularly on the West Coast.

The hostel idea is, in fact, no longer limited to youth. There is a move to have the term "youth" removed from the national association now known as American Youth Hostel, Inc. The name-change proposal is a recognition of the fact that the kind of accommodations provided by hostels is extremely valuable and useful to older people. Hostels have been established specifically for senior citizens in some parts of the country.

A few statistics show a clear picture of the way in which hosteling is catching on in the United States after all these years. Looking at the last five years, we find that in 1972 there were about 100,000 over-nighters using hostels. That figure had increased by half to about 150,000 by 1976. Interestingly, the greatest percentage of increase came from foreign visitors. In 1972 there were about 12,000 foreign over-nighters using our hostel facilities. In 1976 there were close to 38,000-- more than a three-fold increase during a period when the total increase was only 50%.

The figures also show that the most rapid growth is occurring in the West. The State of California started out in 1972 with about 5,000 over-night hostel visitors. Five years later such visits had tripled to almost 18,000. The figures we have for the western region are for a seven-year period, from 1969 to 1976. In 1969 there were about 4,600 over-nighters using hostels, only about 5% of the national total. Use increased until in 1976 the figure was 63,000-- nearly fourteen times more than in 1969. Now nearly half of the hosteling in the nation is done in the western region.

One can only speculate as to the reasons for such a rapid increase. One commonly-cited factor is the increased popularity of bicycling, hiking and horseback riding, which has created an increased need for the kind of facilities that will accept the traveler who is dressed and prepared for those activities. Much of this bicycling and hiking has of course come about because of the new emphasis on physical fitness. There is no doubt that the environmental movement, with its emphasis on energy efficiency and outdoor activity, has contributed to the increased popu-

larity of hostels. An additional impetus is the energy shortage, which has dramatically increased the use of bicycles, and therefore the need for accommodations for bicyclists.

Another factor not to be overlooked is the growth of leisure time, which is now being enjoyed not only by those who are retired from full-time employment, but also by people traveling with small children and those whose children are grown. Such new travelers are added to the traditional group of wanderers: the young.

However, it was not a recreational need but a need for economical emergency housing that started the ball rolling for Washington State's official recognition of hostels. I introduced the first bill for State recognition of hostels in 1975. I had been approached by the Council of Planning Affiliates (COPA), a Seattle-based organization concerned with social-service issues. They had commissioned and published a comprehensive study on wandering youth which showed that there were 600 to 800 of them passing through Seattle every week. Few of them had clean, safe places to stay.

The study substantiated the need for low-cost, safe housing on a temporary basis. COPA did not feel this need should be handled as a social service or welfare issue. They saw an opportunity for a positive approach, and recommended that a state-wide system of hostels be established by the Parks and Recreation Commission, which would also provide a conduit for private and federal monies for the support of hostels.

In 1975 COPA sought out a volunteer to go to Olympia to see that legislation was introduced and to lobby for its passage. That volunteer was Audrey Gruger, who became a member of the legislature herself in 1977. She was then replaced by Mary Johnson. These two women deserve the lion's share of credit for the eventual passage of this State's hostel bill.

As soon as the bill was introduced it received support from other organizations who recognized the unmet need in the State of Washington for emergency housing. The YWCA in Olympia was one of the most vigorous supporters. Police officers testified in favor of the bill. The Travelers Aid Society, the Parks and Recreation Commission, and the staff of the Parks Department were also supportive. State Parks was already contracting with American Youth Hostels for recreational over-nighters at Fort Flagler and Fort Worden State Parks. The bill passed the House of Representatives rather handily and was referred to the Senate. Since it had passed during the last days of the session, it did not make it through the Senate that year.

The following session, in 1977, it was introduced in the Senate as well as the House. Senator Peter von Reichbauer was the Senate sponsor and Chairman of the Senate Parks and Recreation Committee. I introduced the bill again in the House of Representatives. The Senate bill passed first. I then had to decide whether or not to promote my bill, which had been recommended for passage by the House Parks and Recreation Committee, or to take Senator von Reichbauer's bill, which had already passed the Senate. It was my decision, along with the Chairman of the House Parks and Recreation Committee, Representative Margaret Hurley, to go with the Senate bill in order to see that the objective was accomplished.

The Senate bill was passed and is now a law of the State of Washington.

The bill stated that there is a need for hostels in the state for the safety and welfare of transient persons with limited resources. It declared that such facilities should be established using locally donated structures. The State was authorized to dispense any available federal or other monies for such projects and would provide other kinds of assistance where possible.

The bill also authorized other political subdivisions of the state, namely cities, towns, port districts and so on, to establish hostels within their own jurisdictions if they so desired.

All hostel facilities and services would have to include, but not be limited to, short term sleeping accommodations, including adequate restroom and bathing facilities. There would also be information and referral services about available employment and health care.

The bill directed that the details of the operations, regulations, and the establishment of appropriate fees to cover operating costs would be within the discretion of the operating authority, whether it be a private group or a county or local governmental unit. The consumption of alcoholic beverages and the possession or use of controlled substances such as hard drugs, marijuana, etc., would be prohibited in all hostels approved by the State.

The House made an amendment to the bill, which was accepted by the Senate. That amendment requires the Parks Commission to establish rules and regulations for the operation of hostels that are substantially similar to the operating standards and customs established by American Youth Hostels, Inc.

When the bill was first introduced, the American Youth Hostels local representative was concerned that the State might be setting up competing organizations. They were even concerned about the very use of the word "hostel"; but no better term was found. Therefore, I was pleased that we were able to bring the pioneer hosteling group in with the other groups, such as the Council of Planning Affiliates, Travelers Aid, etc., who had seen the need for hostels as emergency housing, in contrast to the recreational emphasis of American Youth Hostels. With the amendment we had the two objectives married in this one bill.

One beneficial aspect of hostels not included in the bill at this time is the educational and cultural element. Such a broadening of State uses for hostels would involve not only the historical associations, which are a separate department of State government, but also the office of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction and the Council for Post-Secondary Education. I would recommend that those agencies be approached so that a cooperative effort can be undertaken. Educational and cultural funds that could very logically be channeled through a travel program using hostels are sometimes available. After all, educational and cultural objectives are an integral part of the hostel movement in Europe.

Our next step should be to look toward the expansion of the rather sparse hostel provisions we now have in the State of Washington. There

is a total of seven hostels in the summer of 1978, only one of which is in an urban area. The one hostel in downtown Seattle has well over 100 rooms. However, it is on private property, and therefore one of its greatest expenses is property taxes.

Most of our other hostels are on public land and do not pay property taxes. We have two located on State Park land: one at Fort Flagler and one at Fort Worden, both using buildings that were formerly military housing. There is one at Ashford, in Mount Rainier National Park, and one at Lilliwaup called Mike's Beach Resort. Mike's Beach Resort is on private land, but it has general rental facilities in addition to the hostel part. Lictensfeld Lodge at Stevens Pass is owned by the Totem Girl Scout Council and qualifies for property tax exemption as a youth camp. Fort Columbia, the newest hostel, is located on publicly owned land in an old military hospital building.

The renovation of old buildings has been done in most cases by volunteer labor provided by American Youth Hostel, Inc. members. We would not be able to operate without such volunteer effort.

One of the hindrances to expansion is the lack of financial support, particularly capital improvement funds. Once an old building is renovated, often at great expense, the local people can operate it without subsidy. Secondly, there is a need for community support wherever a hostel is to be established. The lack of an academic or educational element has already been mentioned.

A fourth obstacle is lack of information; not only lack of information about existing facilities-- most of the people in Washington are unaware of our hostels-- but also lack of information on the part of the general public as to the benefits of hostels to a community and to its visitors. Once people know about available facilities, they use them and the fees charged defray the operational costs.

There is also a lack of information at the government level. There is no plan for an orderly or sensible approach to hostel growth. State Parks has established an advisory group to begin such a planning process.

California appropriated funds for a Recreational Trails and Hostels Plan in 1974. A professional consulting firm developed a preliminary plan which determined recreational corridors. In 1976 the California Director of Parks and Recreation was instructed by the legislature to submit a plan listing priority projects for hostel facilities. The California State Park System Coast Hostel Facility Plan, published in January, 1978, is that first plan. One of its visions is a network of hostels along the coast from the Canadian to the Mexican border.

Let us examine some of the criteria established in the California study. Hostels should be located along major travel routes at intervals short enough to provide a dependable sequence of low-cost overnight housing. The greatest demand for hostels is near large metropolitan areas, not only because of fuel shortages and economic conditions, but also because people from out of state are much more likely to begin their visit in urban centers and use their recreational facilities than to be out in more remote areas. Ideally, hostels should be about 30 to 40 miles apart-- about one day's bike travel.

There are also some criteria for individual hostels. The optimum size is from 40 to 100 beds. Only two of the seven hostels in this state fit that criterion at present-- the Seahaven Hostel in Seattle and the Fort Columbia Hostel at Chinook. Fort Worden comes next with about 30 beds. All of the others are considerably smaller.

Kitchen facilities should be provided so that individuals can cook their own meals and clean up. The users of hostels all pitch in and are assigned clean-up jobs in order to keep these self-service facilities in good condition for the next evening's group. Each hostel has separate sleeping quarters for men and women, a social area, and restrooms. Needless to say, they must meet all of the local sanitary, safety and fire requirements. Another criterion is limited time for a stay. Hostels are not meant to be hotels or apartments. They are low-cost accommodations-- about $3.00 per night and sometimes less. They are operated by private non-profit concessionaires even when located on public land, as is the case in the State of Washington.

What can people do to help provide hostels? First of all, they can find local buildings that may be vacant and available for use. Some suggestions: military buildings that are no longer being used, including ships; Coast Guard installations where the lighthouse is now completely automatic and the buildings that used to house personnel are no longer needed; forest service facilities; and schools that are no longer in service. There are also buildings that have at one time been dormitories for industries. Anacortes has one, for example, which had been used for cannery workers.

After a suitable building has been found, it must be made to meet government health, fire and safety codes. Law enforcement officials must be satisfied that such a facility would be of benefit to the community.

Another necessity is a local organization to provide a realistic plan for obtaining the facility. That organization can be an affiliation with a national group such as American Youth Hostels, Inc., an existing local group such as a church or a youth service organization, or a new group formed just for the purpose of establishing a local hostel. It takes patience, enthusiasm, and an understanding of the governmental processes one needs to go through to make a hostel official.

There are other needs beyond the efforts of local volunteer groups. One of my as yet unsuccessful projects in the legislature is to have the State of Washington publish a consolidated recreational guide. Last time it was introduced as House Bill 917. It passed the House in 1975 and 1977. The second time the Senate did decide they should at least study the issue. Now that I'm a member of the Senate I think we'll make progress. There are literally dozens and dozens of separate recreational guides within the State of Washington provided by each department. They range from rest areas provided by the Department of Highways to State and County parks, Bureau of Reclamation and Corps of Engineers facilities, National Parks and Forest Service camps. The Game Department has a number of camping areas with different kinds of facilities, and the Department of Natural Resources owns and operates many campgrounds throughout the state-- and the list goes on. We do have an Inter-Agency Committee

on Outdoor Recreation which would be an ideal agency to pull this information together into a single recreational guide. I hope that with the support of groups throughout the state we may indeed be able to provide something of that kind very soon. It would not only save the taxpayers' money, but it would be a great assistance to everyone interested in outdoor recreation.

Hostel supporters should be very alert to the pending bond issue for recreational facilities. It is still in the talking stages at this time because the previous bond issues have now been exhausted. The new bond should include provisions for hostel facilities. The money could be used only for capital improvements and not for operational costs, of course.

A third piece of legislation we should begin to promote immediately is property tax exemption for those hostels that meet the State Parks' requirements. Currently youth camps have property tax exemption. Such an exemption would be of great assistance in encouraging the private sector to provide such facilities.

Direct subsidy to hostels such as we have for parks, highways, and mass transit is probably neither realistic nor necessary. A quick perusal of a 1973 report of the International Hostel Federation entitled "Financial support, taxation and legislation affecting youth hostels" shows that even in Europe, government financial support is minimal. The governments which pay staff salaries are those in Socialist countries where everyone works for the government. Funds are most commonly used for State administration and the construction of new facilities. Most countries give tax exemptions to the hostels, as do some states in this country.

In summary, I want to reiterate that the progress we have made to date in providing additional hostels within the State of Washington has been a direct result of citizen organization and proven need. State legislators have been the conduit for that information and the means of achieving the results, but they could not have done it alone. The support of a department within State government rather than the creation of a new agency was also significant. It would not have been possible to pass the legislation without that kind of support. Those same elements of citizen action, sympathetic legislators and supportive State agencies are necessary for the continued progress of hostels in the State of Washington.

I hope we can look forward to cooperating with our neighboring states in providing something that is a dream of many-- a string of hostels along the Pacific Coast within a day's bike ride of one another, from the Canadian to the Mexican border. Dreamers, it's time to make those dreams come true!

For further information, see Where to turn for health, welfare and recreation services, published by United Way of King County (107 Cherry St., Seattle, WA 98104), January, 1977.

AMERICAN CIVIC ISSUES IN THE LIGHT OF EUROPEAN EXPERIENCE - An Evaluation

CLAUDETTE IMBERTON

Introduction: The discussion seen from a European point of view

The existence of a series of discussions of this nature in an average Western American city like Seattle is in itself, for a European visitor, a cause for wonder and admiration. Europeans so often feel that they have a lot to learn from the United States, where they come for training, study or research, that they overlook the fact that Europe does have experience, if nothing else. Furthermore, that experience is diversified, so that Americans can turn to different parts of Europe and to particular achievements, according to their needs.

Constructive bent

One striking aspect of this experimental series was the importance given to the resources in the community. The constructive bent of the discussions was epitomized in the title of the first topic. Instead of treating the elderly primarily as a problem, they were seen as "a resource in a resourceful community." The other discussions also stressed riches in existing associations and services as well as in human intelligence, activity and creativity. The aim was not only to air the basic values involved but also to make human resources known and more available, so that they can be put to better use.

Efficiency and practicality

To an outside observer, it appears that Americans are ready to apply to social issues the same principles and methods they value in the fields of business and politics, emphasizing the search for new and creative ideas among individuals and groups. Their main riches do not lie underground, or in mere productivity, but in themselves. Their enormous wealth and economic power do not prevent Americans from using their brains. Their strength does not impair their intelligence, as is exemplified by a constant desire to learn. In this community, they are ready to use to a larger extent the wisdom and experience of older citizens, as well as of older countries. The word "brainstorming," popular in industry and management, applies just as well here, in the case of these discussions: numerous members of this community are willing to put their minds to work to find ways of improving the public welfare, of reaching a more satisfactory way of life for an increasing portion of the population.

Value for the participants

They reaped the immediate benefit of the discussions, had a chance to learn a great deal in the area for which they felt a special concern. Some participants explained their own needs and frustrations; others encouraged them to make better use of the services offered. All were grateful for the rare opportunity to formulate and compare their thinking,

and for the challenge offered by the high level of the discussions.

Value for the community

What could be more useful for a comparatively new community than to turn towards the "old countries" to find our what they learned the hard way through crises, mistakes, suffering? It should be possible to avoid the latter, improve and complete their experiments, adapt them to the American situation.

The French and Italians love to talk, the British read newspapers extensively, Scandinavians and Germans are active in local organizations and know how they can influence their future. Americans tend to accept and make the most of existing conditions. But the quest for a better quality of life, the questioning of present ways are essential elements in a truly humanistic and democratic society.

The opportunity offered by this series of discussions not only to think but to think aloud is quite unique. The speakers shared their personal and professional experience with other qualified and responsible individuals. Such a series offers a forum, a framework for a valuable exchange of ideas.

Value for the panelists

Even if the panelists had not had an audience, their time would not have been wasted because of the stimulating differences between them. The "significant exchange of ideas" mentioned in question 1 of the participants' evaluation sheet existed first among the scholars. Even in the United States, ivory towers exist. It is not one of the slightest merits of the discussion to bring such people together and also to expose them to the immediate reaction of a public. Their research can easily proceed in parallel lanes and never meet. Such discussion facilitates mutual support, bend research in new directions and thus make it more effective.

Choice of subjects

The topics of the ten public discussions were carefully selected to include matters that would interest the community at large, not only for the sake of discussion but also for their possible practical implications and the changes they could bring about. Last year's summary and evaluation recommended that "care should be taken to choose topics that are currently of moment within the local community." Instead of the three broad subjects of last year, six were retained this year; they appealed to different sections of the public, and different age groups.

The subjects ranged from The Elderly to Youth Hostels; Health Care logically followed concern for the elderly; the discussion on Western European Communism, dealing with political strategies, was supported by two further discussions on Labor-Management Co-determination, that is to say, social strategies. And this broadening of American perspectives to international ways was completed by two discussions of Language Education, insisting not on ideally possible education in this country,

but on existing needs arising from the regularly increasing contact, competition and dependence between the U.S. and the rest of the world. Every year, more mail goes across the U.S. borders, more travelers and students cross the oceans in less time, the rise in trade and investments in a two-way flow between the United States and other nations is spectacular. That European ways be studied in Seattle is not a superfluous and unnecessary luxury as some might think.

Interest of the ideas presented in each discussion

The Elderly - The purpose of this first discussion was the quest for a better quality of life both for older people who could with some support be intensely alive in later years, and for younger generations who could be helped to perceive old age as a valuable asset instead of a disheartening prospect. The example of Germany where old people are greatly valued, and death gracefully prepared for, was enlightening. The British model raised the question of the advisability and feasability of de-emphasizing institutional services offered by nursing homes in favor of home-care provided by community-based professionals (nurses and physicians). Once their basic needs are met, numerous opportunities exist and need only to be expanded, publicized and seized, for senior citizens to enrich their lives and others' lives, very often through the humanities.

Health care - These debates were even more heated and passionate. They centered around the compared cost and quality of the services offered in different countries. In the U.S., half the population has major medical coverage; but 38 to 40 million have no hospital or surgery coverage, a cause for fear and anxiety. While most Americans admit the insufficiency of health care here, their culture makes it difficult for them to accept the idea of any National Health Insurance system, partly because of its socialist connotation.

Although panelists and participants agreed that most Americans are "underserved and overcharged," they were doubtful of the possibility of improvement in the event of Frederal spending on health care. As President Carter has committed his administration to the enactment of a national health program, such a debate could never have been more appropriate and timely.

After examining the French, British, Canadian and Scandinavian models, the majority of participants decided that none could be copied here, that the U.S. had to shape its own national health program. In a profit-oriented society where health rhymes with wealth, it will encounter great resistance. It is therefore the responsibility of each citizen in this democracy to examine options, and make sure that the necessary steps in political action are being taken.

Western European Communism - This discussion attracted more participants than any other and was among the most useful; there is a need among the American public for a fair understanding of Eurocommunism, Marxism, and their roots in European societies. The subject interests the U.S. and Europe almost equally. While this discussion will not influence the decisions of any local public body, the future state of the world depends a great deal on the compromise that can be worked out between

Communist and non-Communist countries.

The panelists shed light on several aspects of the European Communist Parties. The second half of the question, possible political strategies for the U.S. government, was very controversial. Nor could anybody tell whether Communists should be trusted as true democrats. But the fact that both the PCI and the PCF claim they are democratic parties seems meaningful. They could have chosen to reject the word "democracy" and the philosophy it implies. The general feeling can be summarized (and oversimplified) thus: maybe no terrible change would take place if Communists were in government in Western Europe, but we had rather it didn't happen. The prospect of the legislative election then forthcoming in France gave the discussion a large measure of excitement.

Labor and management - We came back to decision-making on a narrower scene with the two discussions entitled Labor and management. There again the speakers were chosen among the best experts and the level of discussion was high. Co-determination in German industry and its results were carefully examined and received a favorable appraisal. We heard a lively and fascinating account of "l'Affaire LIP" in France, a striking example of workers' involvement in and takeover of a production cooperative. Yugoslav Workers' Councils were another enlightening European example. The American scene was presented and discussed at length. In that instance in particular, one could sense the potential impact of such discussions on future orientations. Workers' participation is clearly a desirable and attainable goal in Western societies. Precisely the kind of imagination and faith that panelists and audience showed will be needed to reach it.

Satisfaction in work grows with involvement. Every participant could understand the necessity of putting personal relations at the focus of life. The great discoveries of our time in the fields of medicine or space were contrasted with the poor state of interpersonal relations. The discussion had a clearly humanistic and philosophical bent, such as is essential in a democratic country to counteract the effects of advanced technology that could lead the U.S. into the same kind of ventures Japan and Germany knew with the Second World War.

Language education - Foreign-language needs are growing in the U.S. Not only have the figures concerning trade and travelers changed dramatically during the last twenty-five years, but also the flow of immigrants from various parts of the world has remained high, particularly in the State of Washington. This growing demand for communication and understanding is not properly met where rare or difficult languages are concerned, or even European languages, as a short experience in Seattle can prove. The need of non-English-speaking people is crucial in this city where the number of aliens in the population is increasing. Lack of communication is the greatest problem for new residents. The Altrusa Club Language Bank is a remarkable initiative which needs to be publicized and expanded to all parts of this State.

Youth hostels - The presentations on the tenth and last session (April 23) about youth hostels were of the greatest interest. Because of the

competition of the sunshine on that April Sunday, the participants were less numerous than could have been wished. But whatever their age, they felt concerned by the existence of hostels and spoke warmly in support of such inexpensive and friendly facilities that offer a whole range of wonderful opportunities for people who like to travel. Although the need to travel in or outside one's own country cannot be called "basic," the humanistic or simply human preoccupation dealt with in that last discussion was evident.

Scope of the discussion

This brief summary of the ideas proposed will help measure the scope of the public discussions, reaching out into the main areas of difficulty in modern societies: the sick, the old, the young, the low-income workers, the immigrants. It was not just the high level of competence, it was the spirit that could be felt blowing that was uplifting for all.

Weaknesses and ways to improve

Presentation of foreign experience - It would be worth looking into ways of making the description of foreign models clearer. The balance between oversimplification and clarity is difficult to keep. But generally speaking, one had the impression that the American public did not get a fair picture of the foreign ways. Evidently they found it hard to take their minds away from American problems. But the speakers were also so knowledgeable that the information may have been at times overwhelming.

Discussion or presentation? - The interaction between audience and panelists was sometimes awkward. Some presentations were too long or too continuous. Would it be possible for panelists either to come less prepared for the discussions or to let the audience have the lead and ask the questions that are foremost in their preoccupations, after a few sentences of introduction? The discussions would then deserve their name better and gain in spontaneity. The need for feeding information is great and should not be overlooked, but there is no way the expertise of the speakers can be conveyed to the participants without a great deal of waste in the process. Then is it better to give a lot of information in the hope that a little will be kept and used? Or is it more realistic to hope that short and simple information would be assimilated in its entirety? Working out a compromise will be one of the challenges for the following years.

Number of panelists - Another possibility is to allow more time for the public to react by lowering the number of panelists. But this suggestion is hardly made that it becomes necessary to comment on the difficulty for members of the public to hear or understand each other. Furthermore, the gap between the quality of presentations or answers by experts who are often professional speakers and that of the questions or interventions of participants is great. Some have a hard time either expressing themselves or forgetting their own personal concerns long enough to get fully into the heart of the matter discussed. Obviously the public is at its best asking questions, and should be given a better chance to do so, while the panelists perform best when answering rather than lecturing.

Physical lay-out - More opportunities for interaction between audience and panel might be created in a different setting. For the convenience of the public, this year's discussions were held in various buildings in several districts of Seattle. But in all instances, the material distance between the public and the speakers was rather great. Unfortunately, rooms are not normally circular. But it may be worth attempting to create an atmosphere of closeness and relatedness by means of physical arrangement. Though in France, "une table-ronde" is rarely in fact "a round table," Americans can be trusted to be more flexible.

Sequence - Another simple suggestion for next year would be to let the public intervene immediately after each panelist has spoken, as was in fact done on some occasions. The danger of such a procedure is that time may run too short for the last speaker ever to open his or her mouth, and then the position of the moderator is not one to be envied. Still, there is a lot to be said in favor of reactions given "à chaud," before anybody has had time to lose track of what was said in the first place.

Present versus future - Finally, it seems that too much time was spent on the description of existing conditions either in the United States or abroad, to the detriment of suggestions about new ways to reach a change for the better in the future. Too often, this prospective view appeared only at the very end of the discussion or with the last panelist.

Conclusion and general appreciation

On his return home after his last visit to the United States, French Socialist leader François Mitterand was interviewed by journalists anxious to know what opinion he had formed of Americans. Obviously impressed and even moved by what he had seen and heard, Mitterand answered in a wistful, dreamy way: "if only they were willing, everything would be possible." What he meant by these vague, unspecific words is clear. Like every visitor, he had felt that here the future is not foreclosed. He had also realized that if a sufficient number of American citizens decided to invent new ways, to fight for the improvement of interpersonal and international relations, they had in them what it takes to succeed. The groups of citizens who in Seattle prepared or made a success of these discussions are a beautiful confirmation of this view.

After all that has been said before, it has become unnecessary to justify the enterprise or plead for its continuation. Is this the right place to express the wish that such a series be televised? It would increase awareness in the general public, and have an impact on larger audiences. It would provoke long-term reactions, more numerous proposals, as well as immediate interventions by phone.

After witnessing the long and patient hours of hard work put into the preparation of those discussions, one cannot help wishing they would benefit more people. Without asking his permission-- which he would refuse-- I would like to express here the gratitude and admiration of all for Howard Lee Nostrand, who did so much more than just manage the discussions themselves. He has carried the weight of planning and

organizing them at every level for several months. If they were held again in 1978, it was thanks to the heart, energy and unlimited devotion to public service of that exceptional man who can be in turn as practical as a businessman and as imaginative as the greatest philosopher. His kindness makes it impossible for anybody to refuse him anything, hence the teams of innumerable friends who have surrounded him and brought their unconditional support to this great endeavor. Together, they are the new pioneers and visionaries of the future.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

INGE ANDERSON, who holds a Master of Social Work degree from the University of Washington, was born and raised in Germany. She has served as Assistant Director and Coordinator of Volunteer Services and as Medical Social Worker at Stevens Memorial Hospital, Edmonds. She is now serving as Hospital Social Services Director at St. Joseph's Hospital, Stockton, California.

Rev. DAMIAN BAKEWELL is a priest in the Holy Order of MANS, and has served on the National Board of Directors of that Order. The current Executive Director of Sea Haven Hostel in Seattle, he has also established and promoted hostels in Denver and Portland. He is a Director on the Western Washington Council of American Youth Hostels and serves on the National Board of Directors of AYH. He is also a member of the Board of Directors of the Ecumenical Metropolitan Ministries and the Senior Citizens Occupational Center.

Dr. PAUL B. BEESON, formerly chairman of the Departments of Internal Medicine at Emory University and Yale University, is now with the U.S. Veterans Administration in Seattle, and is Professor of Medicine at the University of Washington. He is a member of the National Academy of Sciences and past president of the Association of American Physicians. His perceptions of the British National Health Service are based on experience working in it while he held the Nuffield Professorship of Clinical Medicine at Oxford from 1965 to 1974.

JEANNE Q. BENOLIEL, Professor of Nursing in Community Health Care Systems and a specialist in the field of death and dying, came to the University of Washington faculty in 1970 from the University of California at Los Angeles and at San Francisco. In 1972 she served as Visiting Professor of Nursing at Tel Aviv University in Israel, and in 1975 as a consultant on research to the Japanese Nursing Association in Tokyo. For her research she received the Arnold and Marie Schwartz Bicentennial Award in 1976 from the American Nurses Association. She has served six years on the Washington State Board of Health, three of these years as Chairman. She has directed two major research projects and has contributed to some thirty books and thirty-five articles. Clinically her interests center on the providing of personalized health care services to advanced cancer patients and their families, and on the problems faced by health care practitioners when humanitarian and scientific values conflict.

JACK R. CLUCK, a partner in the firm of Houghton, Cluck, Coughlin and Riley, has long been a member of the Board of Group Health, Inc. He has traveled in Canada with the purpose of studying the actual functioning as well as the structure of the Canadian National System of health care.

JEAN-PAUL DUMONT, Assistant Professor of Anthropology at the University of Washington, received his professional training in France, partly under the direction of Claude Levy-Strauss. Besides studying traditional cultures, notably that of a tribe in Venezuela, he has been interested

in the anthropology of the developed societies of Europe and America. One study in progress deals with an arcane code of expression used by the French aristocracy in the 19th century.

CARL EISDORFER, Chairman of the Department of Psychiatry and Behavioral Sciences at the University of Washington, has held a number of national and international positions, including: president of the Gerontological Society, chairman of the American Executive Committee of the International Association of Gerontology, chairman of the Task Force on Research on Aging of the American Psychiatric Association, and chairman of the Task Force on Aging of the American Psychological Association. He was named by the President of the United States to the Federal Council on Aging; he was chairman of the Washington State Council on Aging; and he was chairman of the National Advisory Committee for Over Easy, a Public Broadcasting System television program on aging. At the University of Washington, he helped found the university's Institute on Aging in 1977 and was named its acting director.

DEAN E. FREASE received his Ph.D. in 1969 from the University of Oregon, where within the major discipline of Sociology he specialized in deviant group behavior while maintaining his deep interest in social theory. Following the completion of his graduate work he spent an academic year (1969-70) under the auspices of a Fulbright-Hays grant in Yugoslavia doing research on that country's correctional system. He taught criminology and social theory in Canada at the University of Calgary and Simon Fraser University for six years. In the academic year 1974-75 he returned to Yugoslavia where he examined the unique system of workers' self-management. He returned to the United States in 1976 to assume the directorship of a project in Olympia concerned with policy development in the Washington State penal system.

KATHRYN BARTHOLOMEW GARCIA, a Ph.D. candidate in Romance linguistics at the University of Washington, has taught foreign languages for nine years in the United States and Europe. She innovated and taught a course in Italian for opera singers at Cornish School of Allied Arts, and also coached singers in French, German, Spanish, Latin and English diction. Her current projects include research in Italian morphophonemics and the development of elementary-level curriculum materials in French.

ROBERT GUY is Program Director at KING Broadcasting, Seattle. He holds a Ph.D. in Advertising and Marketing from Stanford University. His awards include two Emmy Awards, Journalism Man of the Year for 1955, the Alan P. Sloan Award, the Distinguished Service Medal of the National Acadamy of Television Arts and Sciences, that organization's National Award for the Best Locally Produced Special, and the George Peabody Award for Children's Programming.

ROBERT HAGOPIAN, Executive Producer of Educational Television at the public TV station KCTS/9, is a member of the Community Advisory Board of the French Civilization Group which planned this series of discussions. In addition to his award-winning contributions to public and educational television in the United States, as consultant to the Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation in 1966 he advised the CBC on equipment, pro-

cedures for handling teachers as performers and transmitters of information via TV, organizing production teams for school programs, finding and shooting film for TV services, and cost factors.

VICTOR HANZELI, Associate Professor of French at the University of Washington, left Hungary in 1947 and settled for several years in Paris, where he supported himself as a journalist specializing in East European social and economic problems. He came to the United States in 1951, and did graduate work in French literature, philology and structural linguistics at Indiana University. His current research centers on 18th century French linguistics.

JAY A. HIGBEE is Associate Professor of Humanistic-Social Studies at the University of Washington. His special area is the study of contemporary political and social problems, with particular emphasis on human rights and governmental process. To national conventions of various professional societies, he has made presentations of different aspects of the impact of technology on human rights and on issues involving discrimination. In addition to conventional degrees in history from the University of Iowa and the University of Washington, he earned an interdisciplinary Doctor of Social Science degree from Syracuse University (Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs).

TIM HILL has served as a Councilman of the City of Seattle for the past ten years. He has been active in the Council's finance and budget affairs and currently heads a committee which is drafting an ordinance to overhaul the City's Civil Service system. He is a Whitman College graduate and received a law degree from the University of Washington. He has served as Deputy Prosecuting Attorney in King County and was active in private practice for two years. He served as a State Legislator from the 44th District during the 1967 session.

CLAUDETTE IMBERTON graduated in 1957 from the University of Lyons, where she studied English and American literatures. She spent two academic years in England on different occasions, the second time as French Assistant for the University of London (King's College). Her husband's career led her to independent Algeria where she taught for six years in an entirely Arabic high school. Since 1968 she has taught English at Lycée Edouard Herriot in Lyons. She has had experience with young people from several countries and for a number of years has organized group exchanges between English and French schools and international correspondence between students. She is a member of a team of volunteers publishing the magazine Solidaires for a civic association of French women. Her longstanding interest in the United States led her to accept a position in this country as Curriculum Consultant (1977-78) for Washington high schools and the University of Washington, supported by the U.S. Office of Education and the Fulbright-Hays Commission.

ALBERTO JACOVIELLO is the Washington, D.C. correspondent for the Italian Communist newspaper L'Unità. In his long and illustrious career in journalism he has worked to facilitate mutual understanding between the United States and the Italian Communists by interpreting one side to the other.

ABRAHAM C. KELLER is a professor of Romance Languages at the University of Washington, specializing in French literature of the Renaissance. He received his B.A. and M.A. degrees at Ohio State University and his Ph.D. at the University of California, Berkeley. He has lived and travelled in a number of countries, including France. He thinks he must be one of a small number of persons who have been members of both the French and the American Communist Parties.

PHILIP KIENAST, Associate Professor of Management and Organization at the University of Washington, is a graduate of the School of Labor and Industrial Relations at Michigan State University. His primary focus is in the area of management of human relations, and he is currently engaged in research on conflict management and cooperative industrial relations. He has had extensive experience in management development programs, is a practicing labor arbitrator, and has served as Chairman of the State of Washington Public Employment Relations Commission. His publications include co-authorship of The Practice of Collective Bargaining, 1976.

DENISE KLEIN was Senior Research Associate with the Purdue University Health Services Research and Training Program from 1971 to 1976. She is currently employed as a health planner for the City of Seattle's Division on Aging. The author or co-author of several technical reports, including A Data Collection and Analysis Handbook for Health Planners published in 1976 by the Bureau of Health Planning and Resources Development of DHEW, Ms. Klein pursues professional interests in program evaluation, long-term care, and community-based health services for the elderly.

Sen. ELEANOR LEE was a State Representative from 1974 to 1977 and was Minority Chairman of the Parks and Recreation Committee and of the Local Government Committee. It was she who first introduced, in the House, the bill concerning hostels which Sen. von Reichbauer then sponsored in the Senate. In her three years in the House she took on an unusual number of important committee assignments, and in the Senate she has recently been appointed to the Natural Resources Committee. She has been a leader in civic affairs working on pollution problems, school problems, children's recreation, and women's affairs.

JOSHUA LEHMAN is a life member of American Youth Hostels, and has hosteled throughout the United States and other nations. He served as President of the Western Washington Council of AYH from 1975 to 1977. Currently employed by the Seattle Engineering Department as its Bicycle Program Coordinator, he participates with several national bicycle research efforts. His articles on bicycling topics have appeared in a variety of publications, and he is currently an Associate Editor of BICYCLING magazine. Mr. Lehman is a Ph.D. candidate in Geography at the University of Washington; his research interests are urban transportation and environmental quality.

DOLORES E. LITTLE, R.N., F.A.A.N. is Professor in Community Health Care Systems at the University of Washington. She has held positions as a

staff nurse, head nurse, surgical supervisor and nurse educator. She is past president of the Washington State Nurses Association and served on the Board of Directors of the American Nurses Association for six years. Her research deals with individualizing the delivery of nursing care services to the public. She is a Fellow of the American Academy of Nursing. She has published two books, as well as numerous articles in medical and hospital journals.

JOHN McFARLAND, a graduate of Harvard and the Sorbonne, was a teacher of French on the secondary level for fourteen years. He remembers from personal experience how welcome help always is, whatever the form, whatever the amount, whatever the source. For the past eight years he has been with The Seattle Times as Educational Services Consultant. As such, he still functions largely in the world of education. One of his responsibilities is to show teachers how to use the newspaper as an instructional tool in various subject areas including Language Arts and Social Studies and to develop teaching materials for them.

LYLE MERCER is the Executive Secretary of the Washington Coalition for a National Health Program. He has been a member of the Board of Directors of Group Health Cooperative of Puget Sound and serves on the Board of the Cooperative League of the USA. He has been a consultant on health maintenance organizations for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. In 1976 he was a member of a team which drew up a plan for a cooperative health project in rural India. A University of Washington graduate in political science, he also serves on the boards of the American Civil Liberties Union of Washington and the Elder Citizens Coalition of Washington.

JAMES MOCERI has spent a long and varied career in the American government's foreign service, extending from 1951 to 1976. His last position prior to retirement was that of Assistant Director of the United States Information Agency (for Research). Among his overseas assignments he served as director of U.S. Information Services in Florence, Taipei, Khartoum, and Conakry. Honors conferred upon him include the Edward R. Murrow Award for Excellence in Public Diplomacy from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy in 1974, and the Distinguished Honor Award from USIA in 1976.

FRANCES NOSTRAND came to the University of Washington in 1962 as Lecturer in the College of Education where she supervised student teachers. She has taught courses in French language and in methods of teaching foreign languages and literature. Since 1966 she has served as Associate Editor of the section, Teaching the Foreign Literature, of the ACTFL Annual bibliography. She has served on the boards of the Washington Association of Foreign Language Teachers and the American Association of Teachers of French.

HOWARD LEE NOSTRAND is Professor of Romance Languages and Literature at the University of Washington, and was chairman of the Department from 1939 to 1964. He has served as Cultural Attaché at Lima, receiving the Peruvian Government decoration El Sol del Perú. The French Government has recognized his work in the teaching of French culture and institu-

tions, with the Palmes Académiques and the Légion d'Honneur. He has served on national bodies of the U.S. Office of Education, the Educational Testing Service, and the Modern Language Association. A past president of the American Association of Teachers of French, he heads its National Commission on Ethnography. He has been a Guggenheim Fellow, directed three teachers' institutes and seven research projects, and written alone or in collaboration 11 books and over 100 articles.

CORNELIUS J. PECK is a Professor of Law at the University of Washington School of Law, where he has taught labor law and labor relations, employment discrimination law, administrative law, and torts. He is a member of the National Academy of Arbitrators and a panel arbitrator for the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service. He has been a co-editor of a case book on Labor Relations and the Law and the editor-author of a Cases and Materials on Negotiation. During 1963-64 he was the recipient of a Ford Foundation grant to conduct a study in the Philippines and Maylasia on the administrative law systems of those countries.

MELVIN RADER is Professor Emeritus at the University of Washington, where he has been a member of the faculty since the autumn of 1930. He has taught as a visitor at Western Reserve University, University of British Columbia, University of Iowa, University of Chicago, University of New Mexico, University of South Florida, and Cleveland State University. Among his publications are A Modern Book of Esthetics, Art and Human Values, and No Compromise (a study of the conflict between fascism and democracy). His forthcoming Marx's Interpretation of History will be published by the Oxford University Press. He has been President of the American Society for Aesthetics and the Pacific Division of the American Philosophical Association.

GERVAIS REED graduated from Yale and did post-graduate work at the University of Pennsylvania. He is an artist and an art historian at the University of Washington School of Art. He has served as juror for exhibitions from New York State to Hawaii. He is also a museologist and President of the Western Association of Art Museums. At the Seattle World's Fair, he directed the exhibition, Adventures in Art.

HARRY REINERT earned the M.A. in philosophy at Emory University. He teaches German at Edmonds High School, where he has also taught philosophy and logic, and has served both as chairman of the Foreign Language Department and as Foreign Language Consultant to the School District. He has conducted or participated in several workshops on language instruction, and is the author of textbooks, articles, and a "Learning-Style Identification Exercise" based on Kant's view that each mind approaches "reality" with a priori preconceptions: a diagnostic device used in schools and universities, including the Air Force Academy.

FREDERIC ROBERT graduated from the Sorbonne, where he earned a License ès Lettres and Diplôme d'Etudes Supérieures. In 1965 he qualified as a secondary education teacher (C.A.P.E.S.). From 1968 to 1974 he was Assistant Professor at Paris IX University where he taught and developed syllabi for third and fourth year students. He then became head of the

English Department at the E.S.C.A.E. (a school of business administration) in Dijon. He is currently an exchange professor at Miami University, Oxford, Ohio. His main fields of interest are business English and American and British business environments. He is doing research on British trade unions.

BORJE O. SAXBERG is Professor of Management and Organization in the Graduate School of Business Administration. He was Associate Dean of Graduate Programs for the School from 1967 to 1970, and chairman of the Department from 1972 to 1976. He was chosen by the doctoral students in the Business School Professor Exemplar for excellence in teaching. He has participated extensively in management development work for such organizations as Boeing, Rolls-Royce Ltd. (U.K.), U.S. Civil Service Commission, and others. His fields of special interest focus on management of research, work values, and organization design.

VIRGINIA SIMON graduated from the University of Washington with a major in journalism. She is a member of the Altrusa Club and is one of the group which created its Language Bank. She has worked for the Foundation for International Understanding Through Students (FIUTS), and is presently a tourism specialist at the General Travel Service.in Bellevue, Washington.

LOUIS O. (Lou) STEWART has been Education Director of the Washington State Labor Council since 1967. He serves as Chairman of the Shoreline Community College Labor Studies Program and of the statewide Advisory Committee on Labor Studies. He is a member of the Board of Trustees of the Pacific Northwest Labor College in Portland, and was a founder and is Vice-President of the Pacific Northwest Labor History Association. He is a member of the KCPQ-TV (Channel 13) Public Broadcasting Board and served on the Long Range Task Force which recommended the present method of Federal funding to the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. In 1975, he was a member of a group of labor educators which toured the Federal Republic of Germany as guests of the Foreign Office of that country.

MARTHANNA E. VEBLEN is the Documents Librarian for the King County Library System. She served on the Washington State Council on Aging from 1967 to 1973 and was the first Chairman of the Seattle-King County Planning Council on Aging, elected at the founding of the organization in 1973 and re-elected in 1974-75. She was Research Consultant to the Washington State Council on Aging in 1960-61 and in that capacity was author of Aging in the State of Washington, a report of the State Governor's Council on Aging to the White House Conference on Aging. She is Federal Relations Coordinator for the Washington Library Association. Her most recent publication is a handbook, Aging-- Where to turn in Washington State, 1976.

KATIA WALKER received the License in English literature, civilization and linguistics from the Centre Universitaire de Perpignan. She was actively involved in the movement of "May '68" and later in the student protests of 1976, during which she was a student coordinator. She

earned the M.A. degree in French at the University of Washington. In 1978, she entered the Ph.D. program of the University of California, Davis.

BRUCE WHITMORE is a graduate of Central Washington State University. He is a teacher and consultant, specializing in the psychology of early childhood education. He is particularly interested in language learning and bilingualism in early childhood.